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Selections.

EARL RUSSELL ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF ENGLAND.

[This address of Earl Russell, though received in this country in time for last week's STANDARD, was crowded out for want of room.]

EARL RUSSELL was entertained at dinner on Saturday, Sept. 26, in the new town-hall of Blairgowrie, by the tenantry on the Meikleaur estate and their friends. He made, on this occasion, the following speech on the foreign relations of England:

Earl Russell, who was received with loud cheering, said: Gentlemen, I am deeply grateful to you for the invitation you have given me to be present here to-day, and for the manner in which you have received the toast which has been proposed, and to the noble lord in the chair for the manner in which he has proposed it. Gentlemen, I think the noble lord has very fairly observed that however important are those matters of domestic interest to which he alluded, yet, the contest being over, there is no longer much excitement about them, and that for some time the state of foreign affairs has greatly occupied the attention of the country. I confess I do not wonder that this should be the case, for the state of foreign affairs has been a very anxious one. On the state of foreign affairs depend in a great part the commerce and manufactures of the country. Every rumor or alarm tends to depreciate or to improve the property of thousands of persons in this country; and the apprehension of war may cause burdens to be placed on the people of this country, and might bring on a struggle in which every mother would have to feel for the danger of her son, who in the army or navy might have to encounter the enemy of his country (hear). But beyond all, in the danger of war, in averting it if it can be prevented and honorably averted, of meeting it courageously and with constancy if it must be met—on these depend the character of this country and its high place among the nations (cheers), its fame to future ages, its very existence as a great country (cheers). I have, therefore, partaken in a more than ordinary degree of the anxiety during the period that I have held the seals of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. There have been important events during the comparatively short period in which I have held that office. When Lord Palmerston last came to office there was a war in Italy still depending, though it very soon closed. Then there came the question whether the Italians should be allowed, without interference, to throw off their government, most of them corrupt and effete governments (hear, and cheers), and attempt to create a freedom and a unity for themselves; whether France, or Austria, or any other Power should interfere to direct and turn aside the destiny to which Italy would aspire. In these circumstances the government of Lord Palmerston did not hesitate to say that the people of Italy should choose for themselves their future destiny; that they should choose their form of government; and that with the capacity they had, and with the courage they had shown, it was our belief that they were fit to take their place among the great nations of the world (cheers). Gentlemen, it so happened that I expressed that opinion, as an organ of Lord Palmerston's government, at one of your own Scottish cities—at the city of Aberdeen—and I found, I must say, that the whole country responded to the opinion I then expressed (cheers); and, supported by the public opinion, the voice of England was powerful in preventing intervention with the interests of the Italian people (cheers). Well, gentlemen, there occurred other causes of anxiety. There occurred that which is so often now giving us painful feelings—I mean the civil war that has taken place in Poland. For my own part, I am prepared to defend, if need shall be, the course which her Majesty's government, in conjunction with France and Austria, have taken on that question. But, gentlemen, I have stated in my place in Parliament, and I hold the opinion still, that neither the obligations, the honor, nor the interest of England require that we should go to war for Poland (cheers). I hold that opinion, and I think it would be unbecoming to rail at Russia when we are not prepared forcibly to resist her assertions (hear, hear)—though, however, it has astonished me to find that at the end of several months of correspondence Russia has taken the line that she has done. The partition of Poland, was an event which was the scandal of Europe in the last century (hear, hear, and cheers), and which is the reproach of the three Powers who were parties to it (renewed cheers). But at the treaty of Vienna it was thought fit—and circumstances of expediency perhaps justified what was done—to admit, as it were, into the law of nations the State of Poland as divided between those three Powers, and to give a kind of restrospective sanction, as it were, to the partition of Poland. The Powers of Europe became, to use a legal phrase, accessories after the fact (hear, and a laugh). Austria and Prussia complied with the conditions of the treaty. Russia has not complied with them. It seems to me that it was an act of great imprudence on the part of Russia, when she had that great advantage—when she had the act of spoliation and partition condoned, as it were, by Europe—to reject the terms on which that sanction was given, to rest as she now rests on the title of the original partition, on the title of conquest, rejecting all those conditions by which at the treaty of Vienna that title was, as it were, accepted by Europe (cheers). What may be the consequences of that act, what conduct the different Powers of Europe may follow, is not a question on which I can properly enter. I merely wished you to remark the fact that these conditions which are contained in the treaty of Vienna, by which Russia obtained the kingdom of Poland, have not been complied with; and that, without the conditions of the tenure, the title itself can hardly be upheld (cheers). Gentlemen, there is another question concerning our foreign relations on which a great deal of misapprehension has at various times and very lately prevailed—I mean the question of Mexico. It has been said that there has been intervention in Mexico, and that we in some degree took part in the intervention. Now, that word intervention is unluckily employed with a great deal of license and confusion to express a great many different kinds of proceeding. There is an intervention certainly when a Power, the subjects of which have been wronged, asks redress for these subjects. When their property has been unjustly taken, when the persons of their subjects have been injured, that is an intervention quite justifiable and often indispensably necessary (hear). There is another kind of intervention against which I have often protested, which I think is, on very rare occasions indeed, to be justified, and which generally finds its condemnation in the consequences which follow from it—I mean the forcible intervention in the internal affairs of another nation to prescribe its government and dictate who shall be its rulers (cheers). Well, gentlemen, in the former kind of intervention we took part, but immediately the latter kind of intervention was adopted by one of the three Powers which were concerned in these hostilities in Mexico, we at once parted company with our ally, and have since taken no part in the affairs of Mexico (hear). Gentlemen, such is our condition at the present moment. If the people of Mexico approve the intervention which has taken place, if they like to set up a monarchy in Mexico, and if they all willingly obey it; if they are enabled to establish peace and order in Mexico upon these conditions, I say, with all my heart, let them have it, and I wish them success (cheers). But if they do not choose it, if the people of Mexico wish for the form of government which for many years they have adopted, why, then, I again say we have no business to contradict them in that respect; and that with the people of Mexico, however irregular their form of government has been, and however the country has been deformed by acts of robbery and violence, yet I do not think we ought to interfere about their own choice of their own form of government (cheers). Well, gentlemen, I come now to another question, a question interesting to us all, a question on which I must beg for your attention, because I wish to explain some circumstances in which the character of this country, I think, has been maligned. I am speaking of what has occurred in what a few years ago were the United States of America. A few years ago we were exulting in the prosperity of that country; we were happy to see a people derived from the same ancestors as ourselves enjoying free institutions, enjoying apparent harmony among one another, and with whom we had, at least just before the civil war broke out, hardly a difference—a difference only with regard to the small island called St. Juan, and which we had proposed to refer to the arbitration of the Swiss Republic. This was the state of affairs when that which we certainly had no part in broke out; when, if I remember rightly, nine of the Southern States of America declared that they would form an independent republic. Our course on the subject has been attacked and blamed in the bitterest terms—blamed sometimes by the Federals, and sometimes by the Confederates. The first offense was felt by the Federals. They said we had no right to grant—so far as we were concerned—to the Confederates the rights of belligerents. Well, gentlemen, that question of the rights of belligerents is a question of fact. I put it to you whether, with 5,000,000 people, 5,000,000, I mean, of free men declaring themselves in their several States collectively an independent State, we could pass over that as a petty rebellion. Our Admirals asked whether the ships they met bearing the Confederate flag should be treated as pirates or not. If we had treated them as pirates we should have been taking part in that contest (cheers). It was impossible to look upon the uprising of a community of 5,000,000 people as a mere petty insurrection [hear, hear], or as not having the rights which at all times are given to those who, by their numbers and importance, or by the extent of the territory they possess, are entitled to these rights [cheers]. Well, it was said we ought not to have done that because they were a community of slaveholders. Gentlemen, I trust that our abhorrence of slavery is not in the least abated or diminished [loud and prolonged cheers]. For my own part, I consider it one of the most horrible crimes that yet disgraces humanity [cheers]. But then, when we are treating of the relations which we bear to a community of men, I doubt whether it would be expedient or useful for humanity that we should introduce that new element of declaring that we will have no relations with a people who permit slavery to exist among them. We have never adopted it yet, we have not adopted it in the case of Spain or Brazil, and I do not believe that the cause of humanity would be served by our adoption of it [hear, hear]. Well, then, it was said that these Confederate States were rebels—rebels against the Union. Perhaps, gentlemen, I am not so nice as I ought to be on the subject. But I recollect that we rebelled against Charles I. [a laugh], we rebelled against James II., and the people of New England, not content with these two rebellions, rebelled against George III. [hear, and laughter]. I am not saying now whether all these rebellions were justifiable or whether they were wrong—I am not saying whether the present rebellion in the Southern States is a justifiable insurrection, or is a great fault or a great crime. But I say the mere fact of rebellion is not in my eyes a crime of so deep a dye that we must renounce all fellowship and communion and all relationship with those who have been guilty of rebellion [loud cheering]. But, certainly, if I look to the declarations of those New England orators—and I have been reading lately, if not the whole, yet a very great part, of the very long speech by Mr. Sumner on the subject, delivered at New York—I own I cannot but wonder to see these men, the offspring, as it were, of three rebellions, as we are the offspring of two rebellions, really speaking, like the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, or Louis XIV. arms If, of the dreadful crime and guilt of rebellion [loud laughter and cheers]. Well, gentlemen, there came another complaint, and the complaint came this time from those so-called Confederate States, who said we had, contrary to the Declaration of Paris, contrary to the general international law, permitted a blockade of 3,000 miles of the Southern coast of America. It is quite true we did do. It is quite true—and there perhaps there seemed at least a plausible reason for complaint—that though this blockade was kept up by a sufficient number of ships, yet these ships—many of them adopted into the United States Navy and sent to sea in a hurry, and ill-fitted for the purpose—did not keep up that blockade so effectively and so thoroughly as it must have been held an effective blockade required. But still, looking to the law of nations, it was a blockade; it was a blockade which we as a great belligerent power in former times should have acknowledged. We ourselves had had a blockade of upwards of 2,000 miles, and it did seem to me that we were bound in justice to the Federal States of America to acknowledge the blockade. But there was another reason, I confess, that weighed with me. Our people were suffering, and suffering very greatly, for the want of the material which was the great support of their industry. It was a question of self-interest whether we should not, break that blockade, but, in my opinion, the name of England would have been forever infamous if for the sake of interest of any kind we had violated the general laws of nations, and made war with those slaveholding States of America against the Federal States [hear, hear]. And, gentlemen, I am not speaking the sentiments which are peculiar to myself, or to those who have no immediate interest in the question; but these are, I am convinced, the sentiments of that noble-hearted people of Lancashire, who have lived and flourished by that industry, but who would not, I am sure, allow a single spot on the escutcheon of their nation in order to maintain that industry [hear, hear, and cheers]. Well, there came new complaints—a complaint on the part of the Federals that we allowed a ship to leave the port of Liverpool, which afterward committed depredations on their commerce. Gentlemen, it would lead me far if I were to go over all the particulars of the question, but you must know that in order to prove an offense you require such evidence as can be sifted in a Court of Justice, and it was not till the very day the Alabama left Liverpool that in the opinion of lawyers we had evidence sufficient to keep the vessel and crew; then I doubt whether if we had brought the evidence before a court of law it would have been found that we had sufficient evidence to condemn her, because, by an evasion of the law, the ship was fitted up without the arms necessary for her equipment, and these arms were conveyed to her in the waters of a foreign country, very far from the jurisdiction of England [hear]. Gentlemen, these questions must be weighed, and I think they will be weighed, as they frequently have been weighed by the government of the United States of America, in the balance of equity. We know that the Foreign Enlistment Act and the whole law respecting the subject is very difficult of application. The principle is clear enough. If you are asked to sell muskets, you may sell muskets to one party or to the other, and so with regard to gunpowder, shells, or cannon; and you may sell a ship in the same manner. But, if you, on the one hand, train and drill a regiment with arms in their hands, or allow a regiment to go out with arms in their hands, to take part with one of two belligerents, you violate your neutrality and commit an offense against the other belligerents. So in the same way in regard to ships, if you allow a ship to be armed and go at once to make an attack on a foreign belligerent, you are yourself, according to your own law, taking part in the war, and it is an offense which is punished by the law. But these questions lead, as you will see, to most difficult problems—as to whether, for instance, a thousand persons here may go out as laborers to the Federal States, and in the next place a thousand muskets may go out in another ship, and when they arrive in America these thousand laborers, having had an understanding before, may make a formal engagement and be armed with these thousand muskets; though if that had been done in the territory of the Queen, and on the soil of this country, it would have been an offense. There are other questions with regard to ships that have lately been prepared in this country, because these ships are not like ships which receive the usual equipment known in wars in times past, but they are themselves without any further armament, formed for acts of offense and war. They are steam rams, which might be used for the purposes of war, without ever touching the shores of the Confederate ports. Well, gentlemen, to permit ships of this kind knowingly to depart from this country, not to enter into any Confederate port, not to enter into the port of a belligerent, would, as you see, expose our good faith, to great suspicion; and I feel certain that if, during our war with France, the Americans had sent line-of-battle ships to break our blockade at Brest, whatever reasons they might have urged in support of that, we should have considered it a violation of neutrality. Such is the spirit in which I am prepared to act. Everything that the law of nations requires, everything that our law, that the Foreign Enlistment Act, requires, I am prepared to do, and even, if it should be proved to be necessary for the preservation of our neutrality, that the sanction of Parliament should be asked to further measures. In short to sum up, her Majesty's government are prepared to do everything that the duty of neutrality requires—everything that is just to a friendly nation—taking as a principle that we should do to others as we should wish to be done to ourselves [loud cheers]. But this we will not do—we will not adopt any measure that we think to be wrong. We will not yield a jot of British law or British right in consequence of the menaces of any foreign Power [loud and prolonged cheers]. And now, reverting again to the complaints that have been made, it is singular to observe how jaundiced the minds of some of those who speak in the New England States are on this subject of our conduct. There were some persons, members of the House of Lords, who thought fit to complain on an apparent case of grievance—and not one case, but many cases—of ships of ours that had been seized; ships in some cases passing from neutral ports, in other cases on the sea, but apparently on a legitimate voyage; and it was urged that we ought not to submit to have our vessels thus seized and our commerce thus interrupted. I had to deal with that case, and my answer was that, according to the law of nations, if a ship had an ostensible voyage to a destination which was not her real destination—if she was bound, in fact, to an enemy's port with munitions of war, the belligerent had a right to stop that vessel on the high seas. I said the law had been laid down by Lord Stowell and other great English authorities, and that now we were neutrals I did not think it fit we should depart from a law we had laid down as belligerents [cheers]. I said that in America, although there were some of the local courts which had not the authority of such men as Lord Stowell and Sir William Grant, yet there was a Court of Appeals, there was a Supreme Court in the United States which contained, and had for many years contained, men as learned and of as high reputation in the law, and of as unsullied reputation for integrity, as any that have sat in our English courts of justice, and that we ought to wait patiently for the decisions of those tribunals. Now, what is my surprise to find, and what would be your surprise to find, that Mr. Sumner is so prejudiced that he brings these declarations of mine against me, saying that I have diminished the reputation of the American courts, and that I have showed myself biased against the Federal States by the declaration I then made in Parliament. [A gentleman from the Southern States among the company here ejaculated, "He is not to be believed."] I will not detain you further on these subjects; but one remark I must make on the general tendency of these speeches and writings in America. The government of America discusses these matters very fairly with the English government. Sometimes we think them quite in the wrong; sometimes they say we are quite in the wrong; but we discuss them fairly, and with regard to the Secretary of State I see no complaint to make. I think he weighs the disadvantages and difficulties of our situation in a very fair and equal balance. But there are others, and Mr. Sumner is one of them—his speech being an epitome almost of all that has been contained in the American press—by whom our conduct is very differently judged. With regard to all these matters there are difficult questions. We may have reason to complain in some instances, and the Federal Republic of America may have reason to complain also. But let us recollect that we are, as I have said, descended from the same ancestors; that in the courts of justice in America the common law of England is constantly studied, and the decisions of our great judges constantly referred to as decisions to be there respected; that our Shakspeare and our Milton are to them classical books as they are to us; that we have the same inheritance of freedom; that many of our institutions, as you may see by reading that excellent book of M. de Tocqueville on America, are identical; that the same spirit of liberty animates us both; that we after our revolutions chose a constitutional monarchy as the best form of government, and they after their revolutions chose a republic; but that thus united, having the same spirit of law, having the same spirit of literature, having the same spirit of freedom, we ought, when this unhappy contest is over, to embrace one another as friends, and that we in the Old World and they in the New ought to be the lights to promote the civilization of mankind [loud cheers]. Now, gentlemen, with these feelings I own I almost lose my patience when I see men, in what is called an oration, heaping up accusation after accusation, and misrepresentation after misrepresentation, all tending to the bloody end of war between these two nations. I cannot but say, are they not satisfied with the blood that has been shed in the last two years, with that field of Gettysburg where 10,000 corpses of men, most of them in the prime of manhood, were left lying stretched on the ground? Are they not satisfied with that bloodshed, but would they seek to extend to the nations of Europe a new contest, in which fresh sacrifices are to be made of human life, of human interest, and of human happiness? [Cheers.] Gentlemen, I trust that that will not be the case. I know, at least, that my efforts, such as they are—weak they may be, ineffectual I hope they will not be—will be directed to keep peace between these two nations, and to do everything which I think is just and right toward these people, and ready to meet attack if we are unjustly attacked; ready to bear our part in the contest, if contest there must be; but yet believing that we ought to make every effort that all these various conflicts may end in peace, in union, and in friendship, I shall at all events have the consciousness that I have done my best to preserve peace between these mighty nations [loud cheers]. Gentlemen, it is a great subject; it affects the people of this part of the world and of America; it affects the future stage of civilization; it affects the well-being of the black race, whom it was the crime of our ancestors to introduce to America, and who, if these matters end well, will be, as I believe they are fitted to be, peaceable and intelligent members of a free country [cheers]—on behalf of whose welfare we have been ready to make great efforts, and to sacrifice much. But we will not sacrifice any of those views of ours to mere pretense. We have as strong feelings for the good of mankind as any people can have; we must maintain our own position; and my belief is that the people of what were the United States, whether they are called Federals or Confederates, will finally do us justice, and that they will observe—as, indeed, they cannot help observing—that in this free country, where there is so much discussion and so much difference of opinion, there are parties very considerable in number who sympathize with the Confederates, and other large masses—I believe superior in numbers—who sympathize with the Federals; but whether sympathizing with the one or the other, we have all embraced in our hearts that sentiment of justice—justice we will do to others, justice we expect for ourselves, and I hope I am interpreting the feelings of your minds when I say that justice ought to prevail.

The noble Earl sat down amid prolonged cheering.

TRIAL OF EDITORS IN PRUSSIA.

ON the morning of the 18th, as early as eight o'clock, a crowd of persons, evidently belonging to the most respectable classes, was to be seen gathering around the doors of the hall of the City Court of Justice. Half an hour later the numbers had so increased that it was resolved by the judicial authorities to hear the case that had attracted so much public attention in a more spacious room than that originally chosen; and accordingly the trial was held in the hall of the Schwurgericht in the Lager House. Here, at a quarter-past nine, the long-expected process of the government against the seven Berlin editors who issued their protests against the June press ordinance, was opened by the government prosecutor, Von Moers. Of the accused, Dr. Julian Schmidt, of the *Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung;* Dr. Meyen of the *Berliner Reform;* Dr. Zabel, of the *National Zeitung;* Dr. Alexis Schmidt, of the *Spener Zeitung*; Dr. Mueller, of the *Vossiche Zeitung;* and Dr. Retalag, of the *Berlin Evening Gazette;* making six out of the seven, appeared in the dock. The missing editor was Herr Holdeim, of the *Volks Zeitung*, who, being on a pleasure tour, did not think it worth while to obey the summons of the court. The government prosecutor, after some unimportant formalities, accused the other six gentlemen of exposing "the institutions of the State to public hatred by the perversion of facts" in their common declaration against the press ordinance. He charged them, in the second place, with publishing an insulting libel against the ministers of the State. In support of these charges he made a speech of considerable length, and concluded by asking the court to condemn the defendants to fines of from fifty to one hundred thalers, or, in default, imprisonment of from thirty to sixty days. After a speech from the barrister Ulfert on behalf of the defendants, Dr. Gneist rose and completely annihilated the baseless arguments of the government pleader. He showed convincingly that the editors had done nothing but what was justified both by the law and the Constitution, and that they had not perverted a single fact. He also demonstrated the groundlessness of the assertion that any libelous insult or offense had been committed against the members of the Cabinet. The court, after half an hour's deliberation, acquitted the whole of the defendants, and condemned the government to pay the costs of the suit. This verdict will be anything but agreeable to such impatient tempers as those of Herr Von Bismark and Von Roon, and we shall not be surprised to hear that the government prosecutor has been instructed to appeal against it. The uncertainties of the law in Prussia are such that in the next instance the editors may find themselves consigned to prison just as readily as they were acquitted in the first instance.—*London Weekly Review.*

CONDITION OF THE SLAVES IN THE SOUTH.

From an Occasional Correspondent of The Tribune.

THE attention of the rebel leaders having been lately absorbed by warlike preparations and financial cares, other questions of secondary importance have been either neglected or put aside. Among them is the arming of the blacks and their incorporation in the ranks of the rebel army. There was a time when this question was under consideration before the members of the Richmond government, and elicited the warmest debates. Numerous and irreparable reverses then menaced its very existence, and compelled them to gather together all their means of defense in order to save or to prolong the life of the Confederacy.

This feeling was not confined to the heads of the administration, but affected also, in no small degree, the Governors of the Southern States, who, struck by the imminence of the peril threatening their country, offered immediately to the central authorities all the resources in men and money they believe themselves capable of raising. At the head of these resources several Governors placed the black population which the patriotism of a few Southern planters had offered, without restriction, for the defense of the country of miners, pioneers, soldiers, or in any other capacity the government should choose to use them. Far from censuring a measure destructive of slavery, these Governors recommended it as consistent with the requirements of an enlightened patriotism, and endeavored to persuade the government that it was not in conflict with the opinions of the majority of the people.

But this recommendation was limited to the Governors of Alabama, of South Carolina, and of Mississippi. These gentlemen omitted to state what, in their opinion, should be the reward awarded to the slave for his services, and they did not meet the objection which Southern white soldiers would raise to fighting side by side with slaves. They seemed to consider that the service of the black in the army was of the same nature as that in the field, and did not elevate him above the condition he had hitherto occupied. The character of his new *role* did not strike them as it ought to have done, and hence the obstacles and embarrassments which besieged the Cabinet when this question of arming the slave presented itself for discussion.

The Cabinet of Richmond was not in a position to enable it to decide upon that question in a way agreeable at once with the sentiment of the Confederate Army and the prejudices of a great portion of the Southern people. The feeling of the army was unmistakable, Jeff. Davis and his colleagues know that none but freemen could be admitted to the army: nor could they ignore the fact that raising the black to the rank of soldier, and giving him his freedom for his services, was a measure repugnant to a large number of their countrymen. To escape from a dilemma in which they were required to please both the army and the civilians, the rebel leaders let the question drop, although they would have been highly pleased to have settled it in favor of an increase of their forces by arming the blacks.

This, I understand, is a true relation of the obstacles the measure of arming the slave met in the Cabinet of Richmond, and of motives which induced it to lay the project aside for the time being. But this adjournment does not imply that the measure has been ultimately rejected; it remains as a last resource—as the reserve of the reserve—as the *ultima ratio* of the rebellion, and will come up again for consideration when circumstances shall make it proper and desirable.

Attentive and dispassionate observers cannot, however, be deceived as to the true character of this proposed movement. It was obviously not the result of an isolated influence, nor of a pressing necessity, but of some deep and unseen alteration in public sentiment on the subject of slavery. It is not often that the masses of the people take heed of the social revolution produced by great national evils. The Southerners, blinded by the passions of the hour, do not note the changes which their actual condition compels them to introduce into their social system. They do not see that by associating with their slaves in their military operations, by introducing them into their companies, regiments, and brigades, either as servants, pioneers, or miners, they are gradually and efficiently destroying the social differences which the prejudices of race had raised between the white and the black, and preparing for others through that sort of equality which a community of labor and danger creates, a life of comparative freedom and independence.

It must be remembered that from the day the war began up to this hour, a number of slaves, increasing in a proportionate ratio with the necessities of the war, has been mixed in the regiments sent by the South against the North. At first these slaves were used as body servants by their masters. They carried their baggage; they attended them when wounded, and performed those menial services which they were wont to do at home.

In this obscure condition the conduct of the slave was such as to excite, in many instances, the praise and admiration of the army. If one mixes with the Southern soldiers and listens to their anecdotes of the war, one will frequently hear instances of the gallant conduct of the slave following his master, with his canteen on his back, loading his pistols and his gun, sharing his fatigue and dangers, and when the latter falls dead, taking his place in the ranks and fighting till the battle was over. The story of Gen. Stonewall Jackson's body-servant refusing to go to the rear of the army at the battle of Antietam, and accompanying his master in the midst of the heaviest fire, is a little drama in itself which will certainly go to posterity with the memory of the celebrated leader. The examples of devotion and intelligence given by the blacks in the service of the hospitals have also left a deep impression upon the gratitude of the wounded intrusted to their care. Such facts, and others, which I will not stop to relate, have contributed immensely to raise the proscribed race in the estimation of their oppressors, and has profoundly influenced the conscience of the army as regards the social condition of that people.

The action of the States in impressing a slave to work on fortifications and trenches and paying a certain remuneration to his master for his time, has also altered the social condition of the slave. It has substituted the State for the legal owner—a change which has been in a majority of cases greatly to the advantage of the blacks, whom the State has elevated from the rank of field laborer to that of defender of the country. All those who have been impressed have been enrolled in regiments, drilled, and treated exactly as the whites. They are now to be found working side by side with their masters in nearly every Southern camp. It is they who have thrown earthworks across the Rapidan, erected ramparts and batteries in Charleston, and carried the heavy guns of Gen. Bragg to the top of Lookout Mountain. There is not a battle-field upon which they have not figured as miners, pioneers, or soldiers, nor a battle in which they have not displayed a great deal of endurance, zeal, and courage—not a military event in which their services have not been recorded by the faithful memory of the soldier, more apt than the slaveowner to appreciate them to their full extent.

These two causes—the relations created by the war between the freeman and the slave, and the action of the State in interfering with the property of the slaveowner—have, in certain States, produced a moral revolution which is already perfectly distinguishable, and the effects of which cannot fail to affect, at some period not very distant, their laws and institutions. My informant tells me that in Richmond the question of liberating the slaves now serving in the army and belonging to the State of Virginia, is a subject of dirty discussion among the people; that men of high standing in and out of the Administration frequently express the regret that the slaves on plantations are not enrolled and drilled in anticipation of events which may require the mustering of all the owners of the Confederacy, and that a large party exists now in Virginia recommending the gradual emancipation of all the slaves in that State.

Thus there are, he assures me, two parties in Virginia, one advocating this policy in regard to the slave, the other the continuation of the slavery system as it is, with all the rights and privileges of the slaveowners strictly observed. These two parties, it is said, are now waging against each other a secret warfare which would soon break out into loud and open denunciations, if the absorbing interest in the war did not smother all other questions. But the slaveowners are evidently alarmed at the turn public opinion is now taking on the slavery question, and they are taking measures to prevent the Legislature from passing any act in relation to it during the present session—a precaution which shows more than anything else the progress this question has made in Virginia and in other States since the beginning of the war.

Mr. Collier, a member of the Senate from Petersburg, Va., is the instrument of the slaveowner in their attempts to divert the blow which the majority of the Virginians seem willing, according to the information received, to direct against the institution of slavery in that State. In a resolution recently introduced in the Senate, Mr. Collier demanded "that the government should be forbidden to interfere with slavery—that State's Conventions and Legislatures, all over the Confederacy, should be deprived of the right of altering existing institutions—and that the right of getting rid of the slave property should be granted only to the individual owners."

These resolutions, presented twice by Mr. Collier, once in 1862, and recently in 1863, are evidently the result of the apprehension of the slaveowners; for if their personal property had not been menaced, they certainly would not have urged such a measure upon the Legislature of the State. I will add that in both cases these resolutions were referred to the Committee on Confederate Relations, which did not deem it advisable to act upon them.

All the facts alluded to in my letter tend evidently to one conclusion that nobody will dispute—that the actual condition of the slave in the South is not the same as it was three years ago, both as regards the labor he performs and to the estimation of his services held by the people. He has acted as soldier, and won the praise of his superiors; as servant, and deserved the gratitude of all. He has elevated himself by the display of his moral and intellectual qualities, and has presented himself, not only to the South, but to the whole world, as entitled to enjoy the rights and privileges of a freeman. However obdurate slaveowners may be, however attached to their property, there is hardly any doubt that the conduct of the slave since the war began has operated to change public opinion in the South, and has paved the way, if not for his immediate emancipation, at least for an amelioration in his present condition.

SLAVERY AND THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[The following exquisite piece of irony appeared in THE STANDARD several years ago, when a Bishop of a Southern Diocese addressed us a letter, gravely informing us that no such memorial was ever presented to the General Convention!]

MEMORIAL

To the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

RIGHT REVEREND AND REVEREND FATHERS AND BRETHREN: We pray leave to address you on a subject of the profoundest interest to our beloved Church, and particularly to our Southern Dioceses.

The inscrutable decrees of Providence have committed to us the charge in things spiritual, as well as temporal, of the colored biped mammalia, now several millions in number, who are domiciled among us. You know with what pious vigilance and devout fidelity our Zion has cherished and protected those black and yellow lambs of the flock, striving ever to keep them from going astray, and to make them daily more abundant in good works. We have indeed labored without ceasing, and not wholly in vain, to make those thus entrusted to our Christian rule good and faithful servants—sparing no means that could promote this our godly endeavor. To keep them unspotted from an unbelieving world, we have denied ourselves the happiness of sharing with them our stores of profane knowledge, and have made it a felony to teach them to read. That they might not be hindered in running the race that is set before them, we have forbidden them to cumber themselves with worldly goods, and to retain even the fruits of their daily labor, and we have ourselves borne the added burden without complaining. The task of mortifying the flesh and bringing it into subjection, which even the great Apostle to the Gentiles was compelled to perform for himself, we have taken off their hands and performed for them. That they might learn not to set their hearts on things of this world (which passeth away like a shadow), we have ordained that their domestic ties should be transient, and that they, with or without their wives and children, be kept in free circulation as the basis of trade. And we have labored generally, in the spirit of Christian love, to assimilate them to that order of created beings which is commended in Holy Writ as superior even to the favored people of old, for that "it knoweth its master."

And thus we may say, without boasting, that the Christian graces of humility, long-suffering, and submission to wrong (so difficult of attainment), are nowhere manifested on a larger scale than by this generation, though by nature stiff-necked and untractable. And it is indeed a blessed thought that these biped millions, who might at this day have been herding, with their families around them, in contented degradation,

> "Where Afric's sunny fountains
> Roll down their golden sands,"*

and bowing down before Mumbo-Jumbo, or Baal, or that hideous idol Boo-Ghoo-Boo, now sit where the light of evangelical truth and apostolical order shines on those who own them, and where they daily learn that all help in adversity comes from God alone, and not from man.

But to make the system of the Church more self-consistent and harmonious, and to adapt her ministrations to these tender lambs of her flock and to Southern churchmen, we hold certain changes in her liturgy and discipline to be indispensable.

Our attention to this subject has been specially awakened by the introduction, during your present session at Philadelphia, of a "Canon" absurdly miscalled "of Discipline," so ignorantly and mischievously framed (we would fain believe without actual malignity of purpose) that, under its proposed provisions, a dozen or more mulatto (not to say negro) communicants, if unfortunately eye-witnesses of the commission of a crime by a deacon or presbyter, might actually have been admitted to testify to the fact, and thus to subvert the whole social and political fabric of Virginia or South Carolina. Though this insane or unchristian novelty (which disturbed our peace) was promptly rejected by a unanimous Southern vote, the mere fact that it was put forward is enough to suggest gloomy forebodings, and entitles us to demand of the Church securities for the future, and such changes in ritual and order as shall suit both to Southern institutions. Can it be doubted that communicants not credible under oath require a special liturgy?

It is to be observed that the *whole* Prayer-Book is intended for homogeneous congregations of responsible beings capable of forming domestic ties, and enjoying personal rights. It is, therefore, as a whole, unfit for congregations where the front pews *own* the free sittings—assemblages composed, in varying proportions, of two classes of Christians, one of which bought the other yesterday, and may sell it to-morrow.

But waiving this for the present, certain prominent details require immediate change.

For example: The promise and vow of the marriage service, "I, M., do take thee, N., to be my wedded husband, and to have and to hold . . . *till death do us part*," is a mockery when uttered by one of this beloved but subordinated race. We cannot bear thus to put unreal words into the mouths of those so dear to us. It should be amended to read, "till death, or my owner, his executors, administrators, or assignees, do us part." Soo, too, the demand: "Wilt thou, ——, keep thee only unto him so long as ye both shall live?" and the answer, "I will," should be improved by adding to the words "I will" some form of *protestando* reserving the legal rights of the owner, present or future, of either party; with which the voice of the Church expressed in the present service seems to conflict. This apparent conflict is still more painfully conspicuous where the officiating clergyman is required to say: "Those whom God hath joined together *let no man put asunder*."

Volumes of fanaticism and unbelief are latent in these few words. Where the officiating clergymen himself owns either the bride or bridegroom, this declaration might be construed (most unreasonably, but with some plausibility) as in some sense estopping him from any future exercise of his rights as a Christian and a patriarch, even at a considerable pecuniary loss. In every case he is thus made the mouthpiece of a revolutionary doctrine that blasphemes the rights of property, and distinctly implies the existence of that anti christian fiction, a "Higher Law." Suce profane utterances may suit the atmosphere of other communities, rank with Fourierisms and Freeloveisms, and every social corruption. But no church that openly proclaims them can flourish within *our* borders.

Another remedy is submitted which may allow of our leaving this service (so touching and beautiful when used in its proper place) unchanged for the present. Since the Church hath inherant power to loose as well as to bind, your Honorable Body may, in its wisdom, create and establish a fourth subordinate order of the ministry, specially to exercise the function of loosing, and to administer the rite of Divorce from time to time with due solemnity to colored couples who have been married in the usual form. This fourth order might be styled that of sub-deacon, acolyte, exorcist, *hastiarius*, or simply *auctioneer*. Any person experienced in the duties of that useful calling, and "apt and meet for his smartness and godly conversation to exercise the ministry duly for the edifying of the Church," should be ordained by the Bishop for this particular office, to which other minor duties might judiciously be added. For these, useful hints may lawfully be borrowed from the experience of another and ancient branch of the Church; and we refer to the "Discipline of the Order of Flagellants" (*Disciplina et Regula Ordinis Flagellantium, 4to, Rome*, 1567), as embodying practical suggestions of much value. A suitable "Form of Ordaining Auctioneers" should stand in the Prayer-book, immediately after that for ordaining Deacons. A tasteful symbolism would dictate the presentation of a hammer to the candidate by the Bishop (as the New Testament is delivered to the newly ordained Deacon), with solemn words, "Take thou authority to divorce colored persons in the Church at public or private sale, for cash or on credit, and also to knock them down if thou be thereto licensed by the Bishop himself." There should be also an appropriate and very brief service introductory to such sales, concluding with a suitable exhortation to the parties.

The rite of Confirmation, or laying on of hands, also needs regulating. For the avoiding of scandal persons of the African denomination must be sternly repeled from that ordinance. The peace of Jerusalem may be disturbed if Episcopal hands are still to be brought into physical contact with the heads of these dear children of the Church, except in the way of paternal chastisement. Whatever benefit these black but precious vessels may derive from Confirmation would be far outweighed by the damage the Church would sustain if a chivalric and impulsive public should visit one of her chief ministers with the indignity of tar and feathers for demeaning himself to administer it.

The Litany, too, contains phrases that tend to mischief—the prayers, for instance, to be delivered "from hardness of heart and contempt of Thy word and commandments," and that "all Christian rulers and magistrates may have grace to execute justice and maintain truth." Properly understood, these are, of course, prayers that we may not fall into the delusion of imagining ourselves bound to mitigate the severity and brutality (falsely so called) of our eminently humane and evangelical "Slave Code," and that the civil authority may be strengthened to maintain and develop it to the end of time. But these supplications have been known to stir up distressing doubts and misgivings in diseased and oversensitive consciences. The prayer for "all who are desolate and oppressed" is so manifestly liable to perilous misconstruction that its use can no longer be tolerated.

The service for the burial of the dead needs comparatively little change to adapt it to Southern institutions, But in the passage, "Forasmuch as it has pleased Almighty God, in his wise providence, to take out of the world the soul of our deceased brother" etc., the last quoted three words are unmeaning, offensive to our instincts, and in conflict with the great fundamental ideas of our social system. "This deceased biped," or "this defunct individual black man," or words to that effect, should be substituted. In the solemn offices of religion, aught *unreal* should be studiously avoided.

There are radical defects in the "Prayer for a Sick Person," and the "Office for the Visitation of the Sick." Both are inapplicable to the case of sickness occurring among these colored objects of our love. Both assume that the patient, and not the proprietor of the patient, is the person chiefly interested in the patient's recovery. The Church's intercession is for the former alone. She turns coldly away from the sorrow and trial of the owner, without a single prayer that he be spared the loss, or enabled to bear it with resignation—though it may reduce him from the estate of a gentleman, by compelling him to labor for his own subsistence! Should this be so?

Fearing to weary you by pointing out specifically all the additions and changes which the Prayer-book requires, we pause here, only hinting at a few further questions too important to be overlooked

the battle of White Oak Swamp, and after that of Fraser's Farm, Richmond was all but lost. He praises the masterly movements of the Federals; he bitterly reproaches Mr. Davis's cowardice and care only to preserve his own chattels; he raises the curtains from the peculation of government officials, their bitter recriminations, the universal discontent of the South. *The Times* gloats over such things in the North; why does not its other correspondent tell us of them at Richmond? For Mr. Hope's benefit, I will give him, from Estvân, a trait of his beloved Southern Church:

"At last the temporary hospital was ready, and a sad hole it was for such a purpose; an open warehouse unprovided with doors or windows, and with merely a few planks to serve for beds for the dying soldiers. On this memorable day our brave fellows had to endure everything; hunger, thirst, and heat, besides facing death in its most fearful forms; and now, wounded at the very threshold of the dwellings of their own friends, whose rights and property they had been fighting for, we beheld them left to die uncared for in an open sheet.

"And yet this city numbered as many as 40 000 inhabitants; it contained, moreover, many churches, admirably adapted for hospitals on such emergencies, and was well provided with clergy. Yet no church door was opened, no minister of religion came forward to soothe the last moments of the dying soldier. pp. 252, 253.

Compare this with Gettysburg!

2. Then, when we hear, as we daily do, of the ill-feeling of the North to England, are we to forget that it was their legacy from the South? Till the last elections, as we all know, America was worked by Southern wires; and surely no man has ever used more scurrilous language against us than that very Slidell who now, as "S." has such pretty things to say of us in *The Times*. It is simply that we hear so much less from Richmond than from Washington, that we are able to use this argument; we *might* know if we would, that, as, at the outbreak, the Confederates were the more bitter of the two, they must after our refusal to worship King Cotton, be not less so now.

3. One thing more. What is there in the raising of negro regiments contrary to Christian and honorable warfare? Cannot men see that, so far from encouraging a servile war, it is the best preventive? A servile war is—not a war carried on by slaves, but a war carried on *as* slaves, bound by no rules, giving the run to every passion, thirsting for any vengeance—carry it on. The Jacquerie was a servile war, though not waged by slaves. Well, then, turn these slaves into soldiers; make them feel that, though they may fight for their liberty, they are bound by the laws of warfare, and must show themselves worthy of the name of free men, and the war cannot be servile. Let the negroes rise, *as* slaves, in the South (and, I suppose, no Englishman would deny them the moral right), and it is much to be feared that the wildest horrors of rage and lust *would* be the consequence. But form these same slaves into regiments, teach them to be *men*, give them white officers, develop their self-confidence, and we see the result in your correspondent's last letter. By-the-bye, from *his* point of view, was there ever a more brutal and disgusting insult to a fallen enemy, than Gen. Gillmore's?

Nine years ago, towards the beginning of the Crimean war, I told my friend Mr. Hope, who was speaking with all his natural energy in its favor, that we, who were then considered harmless monomaniacs for believing it a most unrighteous and mistaken war, should, whether we lived to see it or not, ere long have the majority on our side. He smiled as people smiled if an opinion was expressed that Vicksburg would fall. My prophecy has been more fully and more speedily accomplished than even I expected. I have as little doubt now as I had then that the minority in the present case will—let a few years elapse—become as decided a majority as the deplorers of the Crimean war are now.

I have said enough to show your American readers (and this was all my design in writing at all) that there are English priests who long for heartily, who expect fully, and (I hope) who pray earnestly for, the success of the North. J. M. NEALE.

Sackville College, Sept. 1, 1863.

MR. CHASE ON THE WAR.

SPEECH OF THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY AT CINCINNATI ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

A MASS meeting was to have been held in Cincinnati on Monday evening, the 12th inst., for the purpose of giving Hon. Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the United States Treasury, a chance to address the citizens of that place; but in consequence of the inclemency of the weather the committee who had charge of the arrangements were forced to engage Mozart Hall for the occasion.

Mr. Chase, after being introduced to the audience, spoke as follows;

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS: We are engaged in a great struggle. It is a struggle brought upon us by no fault of the people of the United States; and when I say by no fault of the people of the United States, I mean precisely what I say. The laboring masses, the merchants, the manufacturers, the mechanics of the North, have had no part in bringing on this strife. The non-slaveholders of the South have had no part in bringing on this strife. It is a strife brought about by a conspiracy of the few to rule the many, and it is simply because they were not willing to trust the people with their cause that they went to arms for the purpose of establishing a dominion where they could rule blacks and whites separately from the Federal government. That is all there is of the rebellion. Now, this conspiracy is not a recent affair. Whenever you find an aristocracy in the country, and that aristocracy finds itself oppressed by the people, it goes to war with the people. The difference between our aristocracy and the aristocracies that have warred upon the people in other countries, is that our aristocracy happened to be established in certain portions of the country; they occupied certain States, they controlled the political, social and moral action of those States, and therefore it was that when the time came for the aristocracy to rebel against the democracy, then they succeeded, first, in carrying out of the Union—to use their own expression—the most "aristocratic" of all the States—namely, South Carolina; and then South Carolina was followed by the other aristocratic States in succession, until we become involved in this terrible war. Now, when an aristocracy thus wars upon the democracy, especially if that aristocracy be a local aristocracy like ours, there is nothing for it but to meet the challenge which they throw down, or submit to dismemberment. This is the challenge presented to us and to you. The question in the West was, Shall the aristocracy rule the Mississippi? The question in the East was, Shall the aristocracy have the whole sea-coast down to the Gulf? And the whole country pronounced unanimously this shall not be, and when they went to war to establish a separate aristocratic government, like the monarchical institutions of the Old World, then we went to war too. Now, then, the simple question before us is, Is this country worth a war? Are the hopes depending upon the prosperity of American institutions worth enough to justify us in going to war for the nation's life? Is the life of this nation worth enough to justify us in going to war? Look through the history of mankind, and tell me where you can find a people involved in a struggle for a more noble object than that of preserving a national life. We mean to preserve the life of this nation, and the integrity of this nation, too—we mean to make it thoroughly impossible, in time to come, that a disaffected faction in any part of the country can strike a death blow at the vitality of the country (loud cheers). That is all there is of it, and I have, therefore, no doubt about the issue of this war. I have stated the issue was certain from the very beginning—that it was simply a question of endurance. It was a simple question whether the great masses of the people would continue to struggle to enable the government to subdue the aristocratic faction, and to prevent them from controlling the whole laboring population of the Southern States, white and black. I have no doubt about the result; we shall go on as we have gone on. It may be we cannot go on as fast as we desire. I would be very glad myself if we could have stricken this rebellion down in the first six months. Sometimes I thought it might have been done; but it has turned out that we could not yet, and the war has gone on with varying success until now. At last we have the positions that are certain to bring success. I suppose all military men will agree that the military occupation of East Tennessee must necessarily control the issue of the war. If the rebels could take possession of that great valley and hold it permanently, and send out their armies from that locality, then we could not hope for success in the long run. It is just as certain that now we have that valley of East Tennessee—that great mountain region—and hold it, just as certain is it a question of time whether this rebellion shall be put down or not. We shall just as certainly succeed as time rolls on, because we have that great interior fortress, and all we have to do is to send our armies from it. Besides, we have complete control of the Mississippi river; the commercial possession of the river, soon to become complete by the advance of our army. Every body can see that the party which holds the Mississippi holds the control of the Mississippi valley, and we hold to-day, virtually, the control of that valley. Now what remains? General Gillmore—one of Ohio's sons—is now constructing his batteries in front of Charleston, and that Charleston must fall is as certain as that Wagner had to fall before Gilmore. I consider, therefore, my fellow-citizens, that this rebellion is virtually subdued. I know it is not actually subdued. They have large armies in the field; but ours are vastly stronger. Every where our armies are stronger than ever. Therefore I regard the rebellion as virtually subdued. But I think—though it is not my business to speak confidently of these things—I think, with the very slender lights I possess on this subject, that with energetic, resolute conduct, with the whole head and the whole heart of the nation thrown into it, that this rebellion will be brought to a close tolerably quick. Now, my fellow-citizens, I am not going to make a speech; but I will go over some of those heads that appear most prominent to my own vision. I have shown you what kind of a war we have. I have shown you where we stand in the war, allow me now to say another thing to you. It was one of the most natural things in the world that, when the war began, we should want to get through it without disturbing the institution of slavery. I have often spoken in Cincinnati, and you all know what my feelings are, for I am just the same man I was when I spoke to you ten years ago. It was very simple and very plain that slavery depended for its existence outside of those States upon the national will, which is simply saying your will and my will—that slavery outside of these States should not exist antagonistic to free labor. But with slavery in South Carolina we in Ohio had nothing to do, and I was just as much adverse to any interference with it as I should be with their interference with our institutions here in Ohio. That was my doctrine. And so, when this rebellion commenced, it would have been extremely agreeable to me if we could have put our foot upon the snake—I mean the rebellion—and crushed it out without any further trouble. But while I greatly desired that, and had I been General-in Chief, I should have attempted, in an awkward kind of a way, to accomplish it; still we all know the rebellion went on, and assumed greater and greater proportions. We put greater and greater armies in the field, but the slave population in the South was the real prop of the rebellion; raising provisions for the army, while the army was fighting in the field; so that they could send almost their whole white laboring population into the battle field, and they had another laboring population behind them, to feed and support them. And, therefore, it appeared evident, especially as we had to depend upon the blacks in the South for information for our armies, and that the whole population was so far demoralized that they were the only friends our armies could find when they passed through, it seemed, I say, perfectly clear that we had to strike at this under-prop of the rebellion, and so when President Lincoln thought fit to issue his proclamation, I said amen, with all my heart (enthusiastic cheers). It was never intended to interfere with States that were loyal. This proclamation comes up as a great feature in this war. In my judgment the proclamation was the right thing in the right place (cheers)—and without it, I am just as sure as I am of my own existence, that we could not have made the progress that we have made (loud cheers). And I hold that the man who denounces the proclamation, either speaks ignorantly, speaks about that of which he knows little or nothing, or else he really desires that the rebellion should succeed (cheers). There is no alternative; the rebellion would have succeeded but for the proclamation. If, then, a man opposes the proclamation, he opposes it because he does not understand it or because he wishes the rebellion to succeed. But then, say some, you are making war upon these people in the South, and you will not let them come back into the Union with their slaves. Well, now, gentlemen, there are two classes of States in the South—there is the class of States that is affected by the proclamation and a class of States that is not. With this last class of States, which is not affected by the proclamation, we have simply nothing to do, except to bid God speed to the unconditional Union men of those States, that they will do their own work in their own way, and in their own time, and all we have to do is to stand by them (cheers). But in the States which are affected by the proclamation the case is different. Either the proclamation was a great, monstrous sham, and an imposition in the face of the world, or else that proclamation was an effectual thing, and there are no slaves to day in the rebel States (cheers). They are all enfranchised by the proclamation, for what says it? All the slaves of these States are declared now and forever free, and the Executive power is pledged to the maintenance of their freedom. If it were not so it would be a national imposture, and I would no more be guilty of that piece of infamy than I would steal into your house at night and rob your pantry (laughter and cheers). But what have we to do with this proclamation in the rebellious slave States. It is a very simple thing; just simply recognize the Union men who remain in those States. Such men as Mr. Flanders, and Mr. May, and whole host of others who were known as slaveowners are now satisfied that the Union men of the South must see to it that slavery must never be permitted to be re-established in those States. Take such a man as the Hon. Charles Anderson, when he went home and stood up for the Union, what did the slave aristocracy do for him? They drove him from the State, and his wife and little ones were obliged to take shelter in the bush. And so with multitudes of Union men in Texas at the present day; but all of them wish to get back and establish a free State in Texas; because, they say, no other than a free State can ever protect them from the enemies of human freedom, and, I was going to say, of human nature (cheers). Again, in Florida there were many who were driven away who are now anxious to return. Is there a man here who wants these noble, generous Union men of the South to go back to be trampled under foot by restored rebels? (Cries of "No, no!") Let them go back, but let them go back under the ægis of the American Union, and the protection of the government pledged to them (cheers)—and then they will take care to settle this question of slavery. They will amend the Constitution so as to put the slavery question where it ought to be. When that is done, who is going to talk about the proclamation? You have here my fellow-citizens, an intelligent statement, as it seems to me, of the manner in which this thing can be settled; simply by standing by the unconditional Union men, who, almost all of them have embraced the doctrine of emancipation in the Border States, and standing by the Union men in the rebellious States, and letting them protect themselves against the institution of slavery. We have heard a good deal about popular sovereignty. Is not that the best popular sovereignty to let the people protect themselves against what they conceive to be evil? How simple all things are when we come to test them by the plain light of reason. As might have been expected, this war has attracted the attention of the whole world. Everywhere throughout the whole world despotism and aristocracy are in sympathy with the rebellion. Despotism and aristocracy do not like a great and flourishing republic. The English aristocracy and the French despotism would naturally like to see this country broken up. Then there is another ground of sympathy—despotism naturally sympathizes with despotism, aristocracy naturally sympathizes with aristocracy, and the despotism of the whole world sympathizes with the aristocracy and the despotism that they expected to build up in the Southern States. Therefore it is they have naturally been against us. You know what has been done in England; you know that a great deal of sympathy has been manufactured for the South; but just in proportion as we advanced, partly through the proclamation and partly through the success of our armies, the sympathy has become less and less available, and just in proportion as we carry this war on will they think less and less of interference with us. I am asked now and then what I think of intervention, and while I am here among my old friends in Ohio, I can tell you what I think myself. It is this: If we are weak they will interfere; but when despotism sees we are strong it will slink away [cheers]. I think we have demonstrated some strength in the field. What nation before ever maintained such armies in the field and was so lavish of its strength? We are showing our strength to the nations of the earth. And I think if we simply go on thus showing our strength there is no danger of intervention. No danger, because it won't pay [cheers] It is true that Great Britain has behaved a very unneighborly part towards us. We used to think that this great Anglo-Saxon family was to stand together the world over on Anglo-Saxon principles, such as the freedom of the press, the freedom of the ballot, free thought, free speech, and freedom for all men. But of late years we have seen manifestations of an unkind and unfriendly spirit, and sometimes I have felt as if I should like to take old Mother England by the hair and give her a good shaking [great applause]. I am not sure that this would be the wisest plan; but of one thing I feel well assured—that England won't send any more piratical ships to prey upon our commerce. And of another thing I feel certain—that when England looks this matter over calmly and considers that a certain ship—the Alabama—was fitted out in a British port, manned by British sailors, and armed by British guns, and has since been roving over the seas, plundering American vessels, without daring to bring a single prize into port, she will conclude upon the whole that it is best to pay American merchants for all the damage the Alabama has done [great cheers]. Then we have a sort of a new empire on our borders, over in Mexico. Well, I am not much disturbed about that. Empires don't last long in America [cheers]. I don't know how long this empire, if it gets born, will last [laughter] There was an attempt to make an empire in Mexico awhile ago, with one Iturbide at its head; but, it I am not much mistaken, he didn't find it very profitable, or agreeable to the people in Mexico. I don't know this new Austrian emperor will find his bed of roses there; but I am inclined to think the roses will be very few, and the bed very hard [laughter]. I am willing to trust it awhile. I am perfectly sure, taking all things into consideration, that European monarchies will soon think it best to keep their institutions at home [renewed laughter and applause]. I am confident of this, and therefore don't propose any particular measures just now. It is never wise to announce what you are going to do a great while in advance of doing it; but I think the time will come when the world will consider these things, and this republic of ours will be re-established from the Gulf towards the Pole [cheers]—and from the Atlantic to the Pacific, based upon free labor—a giant that, touching the earth in form, and gathering strength from the contact, will rise grander and mightier than ever. I think the time will come when this nation, so regenerated and so renovated, will command the respect of the world, and Great Britain will begin to regret that she thought it best to be friendly with the enemies of the country. One word further. I spoke a moment since of the regeneration of this nation. Free labor is better than slave labor. And now suppose there were free labor all through the South, do you not think that the manufacturers of Cincinnati would have a great deal more employment than now? I think so. Do you not think all this trouble about the negro would come to an end, when the negro could go towards the Gulf, and there find himself free and employed there as a hired laborer? How many do you think would be left in Ohio to interfere with you, and with me, in our industrial relations? Would not that question be settled, and all the heart-burnings growing out of it come to an end? With all the multiplied resources and commercial demands growing out of free labor, would we not be stronger in an economical point of view? And when we add to all this the removal of that great element of strife from our country and free labor every where prevails, when no man shall be compelled to work unless he is fully rewarded for his toil, and every man becomes an interested contributor to the glorious fabric of our nation, don't you think we will be not only economically, but politically, stronger than ever before? I think so; and I think that when this rebellion comes to an end we will have a great nation, based on free labor, made homogeneous in all its parts, and capable of playing a mighty part in the drama of human affairs. When I look at these things and remember that

"There's a divinity which shapes our ends,
Rough hew them as we will"—

when I remember, with Patrick Henry, that "there is a God who presides over the destinies of nations, and that all peoples are but dust in the hollow of His hands, to be shaped as He pleases." I feel—it may be superstition—but I feel that God has had a hand in all this business, and that out of this great trial of ours is to come forth even a more intelligent, prosperous and glorious nation than we have heretofore been, based on the one principle, which shall be the admiration of the world—free institutions. Thinking thus, my fellow-citizens, I have been laboring in my humble way. I have been doing something toward ensuring the permanence of the republic; and, thinking if labor was to have its just reward it was necessary to have something in which that reward might be paid that was substantial, permanent and uniform throughout the country, I set my poor wits to work to try to devise a uniform currency for this country [great cheers]. I would not think much about this uniform currency if we were not to have a uniform people. I would not think much about our currency if we were not to have one republic [renewed cheers]. And if we are to have one republic, based on free labor, I want something by which that free labor can be rewarded, and make the reward just as safe as the nation is safe [greater applause than ever]. I think, gentlemen, that I have done something toward that, and it will be reward enough for me if, at the close of this great struggle, I can feel that, by constant effort, I have contributed at all to the progress of our armies, or to the safety and honor and welfare of the country during this struggle, or after it shall have closed. Now, then, I have given you, not a speech, but a rough outline of ideas as they arose in my mind. If I had had time I suppose I could have put them into better shape; but I have given them just as they came up in my mind. And now, the simple question I wish to propound to you, is, whether, if you believe that this is a country worth saving, whether if you believe the Union worth restoring—whether if you believe it is well for the world that America shall live, you will yourselves do your part? [Cries of Yes, yes, we will.] How gloriously you have done it thus far, how readily you have come forward with your resources, how firmly and cheerfully you have sent your sons and brothers to battle, how nobly they have gone, how gloriously fought, and how they have left their undying names inscribed on the page of history! You have done your part nobly thus far. God bless the army! [This invocation was uttered with much feeling and evident emotion, to which the audience shouted a hearty amen and gave three cheers for the soldier in the field.] And God bless the glorious people who have thus far nobly sustained them! Shame and dishonor to the man, whoever he may be, who will refuse by his vote or voice to sustain him to-morrow [great cheers]. My fellow-citizens, the whole world is looking upon you. Hardly a number of the London *Times* comes off that has not an article about the success of Vallandigham and the assurance thereby of the termination of this trouble and the separation of these States. Hardly a paper reaches us from Paris that has not something about the same matter. Why, the Russians, who are gathering now upon our coast, to keep their vessels here, I suppose, in a convenient place in case an emergency should call for them, even they are looking to you to know if you will stand firm—to see whether Ohio will give her voice for the Union and its prosperity, whether Ohio will stand by her troops in the field, whether Ohio will by your glorious and honorable conduct to-morrow vindicate the honor of those who have fallen. You are here to-night to give your response, and I feel sure that anything you can do to accomplish this result will be done to-morrow. I should feel as though I insulted you by any exhortation as to the performance of your duty. You know, as well as I do, the mighty issues that hang upon your action to-morrow, and you will do your duty, I am sure of it. And when to-morrow's sun goes down, it will go down on a people resolved to be free themselves, and to maintain the freedom and unity of the republic.

WHAT THE WAR HAS DONE FOR THE NEGRO.

[Mr. Edward Dicey, a candid and intelligent critic of American affairs, exhibits his usual good sense and good feeling in his "Retrospect of the War" in the *Victoria* magazine. Apropos of the question, What the war has done for the negro, he remarks:]

IT was not, perhaps, to be expected, that in two years the war should do much for the individual negro. On the other hand it has done more for his race than the most sanguine enthusiast could have expected. In four and-twenty months, the United States have advanced further in the path of emancipation, than in the eighty odd years which passed between the foundation of the Union and the attack on Fort Sumter. The slave trade has been abolished in the North, in fact as well as in name; the Capital of the Federal Union is no longer slave ground; the extension of slavery to the territories has been formally interdicted; Missouri and Western Virginia have both passed acts for prospective emancipation, and a decree has been issued abolishing slavery in the insurgent States. It may be said that this decree is still nothing but a proclamation, and doubts may be entertained of its immediate execution. But to any one who has studied the world's history, it is clear that the formal recognition of slavery being an evil, is a death blow to its existence. The sentence may not be carried out forthwith, but its ultimate execution is no longer a matter of doubt. Moreover, the war has already raised the social position of the degraded negro race. The Republic of Liberia has been recognized and a black Embassador has for the first time been received in Washington, and allowed to reside there unmolested. This, in itself, is a concession which nothing but a political convulsion could have wrung from the Americans. Finally, for the first time, the black man has been officially acknowledged as an American citizen. In many of the separate States he has undoubtedly the full rights of State citizenship; but hitherto, the Federal government had scrupulously declined committing itself to any assertion that he was entitled to be regarded as an American subject. The war has brought this question to an issue, and decided it in favor of the negro; and this out of no popular caprice, but by the inexorable logic of facts. The necessities of war compelled the employment of negro soldiers; the employment of black troops entailed the adoption of measures for their protection; and these measures have obliged the President to declare authoritatively that the black soldier is of equal value with the white, and that his murder or enslavement is an offense for which retaliation must be inflicted just as it would in the case of a white free-born American. To bring this result about has cost many a brave and noble life. But the other day, a gallant lad, whose family I know well, fell leading a colored regiment in the desperate assault upon Fort Wagner. He was the only son of his parents, a boy almost, the darling of the house. He leaves desolate a home so kindly, so pleasant, and so grateful in its memories to all who ever entered it, that my heart aches to think of what it must be now, as I remember how I saw it but a year ago, when the parents' hearts were glad, because good news had come from their boy in the wars. Yet I know they will have this of comfort, that the child of their age did good work in dying for the cause that, throughout their lives, they have had most at heart.

This lad was but one among a hundred thousand who like him have given up home, and comfort, and wealth, and life itself, to fight for an idea. Even those to whom that idea is most hateful, must admit that in the retrospect of a war which has produced such heroism, there is something to dwell upon with pleasure. A nation over-burdened with prosperity, intoxicated with success, demoralized by wealth, has learnt how to die as well as how to live, and that lesson is surely worth the learning.

A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT FOR RUSSIA.

EMPEROR ALEXANDER of Russia has just signalized his reign by a new reformatory act of the highest importance—an act which, in its bearing upon the progress of Russia, can be only compared with the Ordinance of Emancipation, and which will secure to Alexander in Russian history a place by the side of Peter the Great as among the most illustrious rulers of the nation. He has convoked the Diet of the Grand Duchy of Finland, and opened it personally with a speech, which expresses his confidence in a liberal form of government, and intimates his design to develop liberal institutions, first in Finland, and later in other parts of the Empire. The convocation of a Representative Assembly in a Russian Crown land, and still more the tenor of the Imperial address, may be regarded as proofs that the era of absolutism is on the wane in Russia, and that the largest Christian Empire in the world may ere long be converted into a constitutional monarchy.

The Emperor states that his attention has long been engaged with questions of a serious interest to Finland, but that they had to remain in suspense because "their solution demanded the coöperation of the Diet." It was impossible for him to convoke, the four Estates (nobility, clergy, burghers, peasants) during the first years of his reign, but he had, nevertheless, prepared in the meantime drafts of several laws and other administrative matters, to be laid before the Diet. The financial condition of the Grand Duchy is said to be satisfactory. The revenues have always been sufficient for meeting the current expenses, and the considerable increase of the indirect taxes has enabled the government to make a more liberal provision for the material and moral development of the country. He has authorized the government of the Grand Duchy to contract a loan for the sole purpose of meeting the claims of the last war, and of providing for the construction of a railroad between Helsingfors and Tavasthus. It is his desire that hereafter no loan shall be contracted without the participation of the Estates of the Grand Duchy, unless a sudden invasion of the country or some other unforeseen public calamity should make it necessary. He further announces that the levying of new taxes will be proposed to the Diet to promote the material prosperity of the nation and to extend the blessings of public education; and he declares it to be "the task of the Diet to decide upon the urgency and extent of these measures."

As many provisions of the fundamental law are no longer adequate for the present state of things, the Emperor has ordered the preparation of an act which will contain explanations and supplements, and which will be submitted to the next session of the Diet, to be convoked three years hence. While maintaining the principles of a constitutional monarchy, more extensive rights will be conceded by the new law to the Diet with regard to the assessment of taxes as well as the privilege of making motions, although the Emperor reserves to himself the right of the initiative in everything relating to changes in the fundamental law. And he concludes with recommending to the representatives to the Grand Duchy to "prove by the dignity, the moderation, and the calmness of their deliberations, that in the hands of a people determined to act in concert with their sovereign for the development of their prosperity, the liberal institutions, far from being a danger, become a guarantee of order and prosperity."

It may be presumed that Alexander would never have used this language unless the introduction of a constitutional form of government into the other parts of the Russian Empire had been fully determined on. We may therefore expect that when he shall succeed in quelling the Polish revolution he will be ready to redeem the pledges given in the correspondence with the Western Powers, and establish for Poland a representative Constitution. The introduction of some kind of Constitution into Russia Proper will probably speedily follow. The issue of a proclamation to that effect was expected about the 20th of September, and it was thought that nine Provincial Diets would be established, as follows: For Finland, at Helsingfors; for Baltic Russia, at St. Petersburg; for Great Russia, at Moscow; for Little Russia, at Kiev; for Southern Russia, at Odessa; for Western Russia, at Vilna; for Poland, at Warsaw; for Eastern Russia, at Kazan, and for Siberia, at Irkoutsk; all these Provincial Diets to be subordinate to a Central Chamber of Representatives of the Empire. Public opinion has been disappointed as to the date of this proclamation; but unless it were in preparation, it is supposed that the Emperor would hardly have made a general profession of faith in the excellencies of a constitutional monarchy.

The constitutional change, which is approaching in Russia, will be one of the great events in the history of the nineteenth century. The progress of Austria for the last two or three years furnishes a very instructive example of how vastly constitutional rule exceeds Absolutism in developing the resources of great countries. Russia needs only to try the experiment, to show that she has under her control elements of strength greater than those of any other European Power.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 24, 1863.

CELEBRATION OF THE THIRD DECADE OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

At the Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, held in the city of New York, in May last, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in accordance with usage, and from reasons of obvious fitness, it is proper that the completion of another Decade of the Society's existence should be marked by a special public meeting devoted to a general review and survey of the cause; and that therefore this Society, when it adjourns on this occasion, will adjourn to meet in the city of Philadelphia, on the third day of December next, then and there to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, the thirtieth—and we would fain hope the final—anniversary of its formation.

In accordance with this vote, the Executive Committee hereby announce that the THIRD DECADE of the Society will be held in Philadelphia, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, Dec. 3d and 4th, 1863.

Historically, it will be an occasion of thrilling interest and joyous congratulation, unequalled in the eventful career of the Society since its formation. Unquestionably, it will be largely attended by the friends of universal liberty, representing every section of the country loyal to the government. Who among them will need any stronger appeal than the simple announcement of the fact to induce him to be present, if circumstances should permit? Let them make their arrangements accordingly. "Whosoever will, let him come"—come in the spirit of Justice and love—come as remembering those in bonds as bound with them—come as one abhorring "the guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man"—come to put down the rebellion by helping to exterminate the hideous system from which it has legitimately sprung!

A strong array of able and eloquent speakers will be in attendance.

[Further particulars hereafter.]

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS, CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, } *Secretaries.*

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society congratulate its members and friends that, through the madness, rebellion, and secession of the South, avowedly in behalf of its Heaven-accursed and world-abhorred slave system—involving the country in a civil war of the hugest proportions and the most sanguinary character, which still continues its desolating work—the constitutional powers of the Federal government are now ample to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. They believe that, as a measure of national peace and unity, of humanity and justice, such a decree should be passed by the ensuing Congress at as early a period in the session as practicable—thus not only sustaining the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, but also effectually disposing of that remnant of the slave institution which was exempted by the proclamation aforesaid, in such a manner as may seem most equitable and expedient by Congress.

The warrant for this procedure is to be found in the still greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government that may be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution that imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence the nation, acting through its official organs, has the right to abolish slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of a general coöperation of the friends of impartial liberty at this time, in order to influence and secure the action of Congress in the manner described, hereby announce, that they have resolved to put forthwith into the lecturing field as many agents as the funds of the Society will warrant, whose sole work shall be to enlighten the public mind on this subject, stimulate to a wide-spread movement in favor of universal emancipation, and thus make the recurrence of another SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION an impossible event.

To sustain and increase the number of these agents, the Committee solicit the generous contribution and donations of all who desire to see the speedy suppression of the war, and in the fullest sense "LIBERTY AND UNION" made "ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

In furtherance of this patriotic and Christian object, the "Woman's Loyal National League" at New York has taken the field, in advance, to procure to a petition to the next Congress, for the total abolition of slavery, A MILLION OF SIGNATURES on the part of the loyal women of the republic. It deserves all possible encouragement and success, and we shall extend to it the heartiest coöperation. But let the loyal MEN be equally zealous and resolved to be as potentially heard in the same manner, by the same body. Let such a petition be sent to Congress from every city, town, village and hamlet in all the loyal States. No time is to be lost. "*One last, best effort now!*"

The Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society is WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Mass. Donations may also be sent to OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq., Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, and to J. MILLER MCKIM, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

☞ Editors of newspapers, friendly to the object here announced, are respectfully requested to insert this announcement in their columns.

THEODORE TILTON'S LECTURE.—A new edition of Theodore Tilton's lecture on the Negro has been issued and is now on sale at this office. Price $3 per hundred. Orders can be sent to the Anti-Slavery Office in Boston and in New York, and they will be promptly honored. Single copies 5 cents.

THE DECADE MEETING.

THE Fourth Day of next December will be the Thirtieth Anniversary of a memorable event. On that day of the month, 1833, the American Anti-Slavery Society was gathered, and the Declaration of Sentiments setting forth its object and the means it proposed to use for the accomplishment thereof was adopted. During that period of time, the one allotted to a generation of men on earth, it has pursued that object steadily and applied the measures it proposed to itself faithfully. We think it will not be denied by any candid or intelligent observer of the times and seasons, that it has been a "Power on Earth," and that it has been a power well applied and with answerable results. It was not the first organization of the Anti-Slavery element in the American mind. It was preceded by the New England Anti-Slavery Society, which afterwards took the style of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, which was formed on the first day of that year, consisting of the Apostolic number of twelve members. But the American Anti-Slavery Society has stood for the idea of hostility to American slavery in the general mind of the nation, as no other organization has done. With the exception of a short period, it has applied the test of its fundamental principle to all American institutions, Ecclesiastical as well as Civil, with unsparing impartiality, and judged them with a righteous judgment, according as they stood it well or ill. And it applied not merely the test of its peculiar principle to men and institutions, it made use of the yet more hateful one of their own avowed principles, and examined how far the Church and the State came up, in the matter of negro slavery, to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the Declaration of American Independence. For nearly twenty-four years, during the chief of which Mr. Garrison has been its head as he was its founder, it has been the express image and incarnation of Abolitionism, a name of which it was never ashamed but, contrariwise, has ever regarded as its due title of honor and dignity. And we believe that few bodies of men, acting together for a specific purpose for so many years, have been more active in their vocation, or have seen their efforts crowned with a larger measure, and a yet more glorious hope of success.

The object of the Society being to enlighten the public mind as to the nature of slavery and its effects on the moral, religious and political condition of the master as well as of the slave, of the North as well as of the South, it addressed itself to this great work, strong only in faith of the omnipotence of truth. Nothing could look more absurd than the disparity between the two powers that were to encounter in deadly conflict. On the one hand, the whole nation, dead in trespasses and sins, given over to its idols, identifying the existing state of things with the possession and progress of material prosperity and the hope of political power, and on the other, a handful of men and women, obscure for the most part, without the *prestige* of wealth or social standing, without political position or ecclesiastical weight, and nothing but their voices and pens and the help of one or two struggling presses to rely upon, when they undertook to destroy the institution which was in effect the corner-stone of our Republican edifice, as it then stood. But the difference of forces did not look despicable to the parties in interest. The slaveholders and their Northern partizans instinctively felt that these pestilent fellows would turn their world upside down if they could not be suppressed. So every means that the ingenuity of malice and hate could put in motion was set at work to blacken their characters, misrepresent their motives and objects, and destroy or disperse them by the interposition of mob violence. To all of these attacks have the Abolitionists been subjected from time to time, to some of them for all the time, ever since they began their work, and the most malignant, bloody and murderous of all were the very latest, which just preceded the breaking out of the rebellion. And the children of this world were wise in their generation. The only chance for the continued existence of slavery was the suppression of all discussion of its character and of all exposure of its necessary effects on individual and national morality and prosperity. But failing to do this, their very struggles against the growing heresy only gave it new strength and enlarged the field of its harvest. No one who has grown up within the last thirty years can form any adequate idea of the darkness which had settled down over the people, and the thick darkness which covered the nation. The Abolitionists had to begin, as it were, with the A, B, C of moral and political truth, against which almost all the world shut their eyes and their ears. But free schools and free religious inquiry had prepared the way. There was no lack of intelligence or mental activity, only an indisposition to use it in this direction. The Mayflower had left some shoots in the heart of the people, our own Revolution had not been fought entirely in vain; and the fierce collision of passions and opinions growing out of that of France had not been had without striking out sparks which might be kindled afresh by a wholesome agitation of the air.

The public necessity for the anti-slavery agitation existed, it was called for by the state of things, and it appeared. It appeared, and it has done its work as well as it knew how. The elements of moral and political truth have been dispensed in every quarter of the free States by the preached word and disseminated by the miraculous multiplication of the press. Like every truth, the more Abolitionism was preached, and the more it was disputed, the wider it spread, until it had leavened great masses of mind all over the country. It modified political action and influenced ecclesiastical action. It began to affect the dreams of political ambition and to disturb the fat slumbers of the Church. Like all ideas of a wide scope, it began to manifest itself in public affairs and to affect the condition and prospects of political parties. And so it went forth conquering without the sword, and to conquer in the face of an opposing world, until it had made the nation too hot for slavery to live in it. It, accordingly, first shook off the dust of freedom from its feet against the Church—slight as had been the provocation she had given for such contumely—and, in the fulness of time, against the State, notwithstanding the humiliations the politicians had submitted to, to propitiate it. The slave-master felt, and justly, that the ideas of slavery and of freedom could not coexist in the same jurisdiction, and hence the rebellion. And of the rebellion is to come Abolition. This logical connection between anti-slavery and the desperation of slavery which has rushed into rebellion, is no vain imagination of ours. Every rebel in the field and every traitor at home feels and denounces it. The armies of the nation are Abolition armies, and the soldiers Abolitionists—little as many of them may have deserved the epithet, even in official reports of rebel Generals. It is meant as our reproach—we accept it as our glory, and only hope that we shall have grace to be faithful even to the end.

It is very true that slavery would have been abolished if the Abolitionists had never organized themselves, or if Garrison had never been born. Means would never have been wanting to this inevitable end. But that the anti-slavery movement, of which the American Society is an embodiment, has been the means which Providence has employed for this work, we may believe on the safe witness of our enemies. We may well come together next December and consider where we stand and what farther duty we have to do. Happy should we all be to lay down our arms in the presence of an overpowering victory. That, however, can hardly be quite so soon. The nation has well nigh got beyond danger of a compromise, because the rebels are too strong to think of asking for one. Their presence at the gates of the Capital is our surest guarantee against that yet deeper disgrace. We must yet strive to prepare the public mind to spurn it, should they ever be content to invite one. We fear that it is far from that condition yet. But this is aside from the purpose of this present writing. We merely proposed to attract the attention of Abolitionists and anti-slavery men and women, generally, to the fact of that anniversary, and to urge them to make their arrangements, seasonably, to attend it. They may be sure that it will certainly be one of the most interesting, and perhaps one of the most important meetings ever held in the United States.

A. B. C. F. M.

THE fifty-third Annual Meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was held at Rochester, in this State, commencing on Tuesday, the 6th inst., and continuing three and a half days. It was very larg

creditable to the Board. But to get an idea of the influence of the Board's allowance and authentication of slaveholding upon the manners and morals of its mission Churches and their pastors, we should look at another group of facts, which took place among the Choctaws in the year 1859, less than a year before they were dismissed from the care of the Board.

In January, 1859, a slaveholding Choctaw woman, a member of the Stockbridge Church, under the pastoral care of Rev. Cyrus Byington, burned alive her female slave. To this, of course, her fellow-slaveholders out of the Church, and the government of her slaveholding nation, had no objection. But what was done by the members of the Stockbridge Church about it? Nothing at all. Their minister had always taught them that slavery was right, and this was but one of the incidents of the right of ownership in human beings. Shall not a man do what he will with *his own?*

But what was done about it by the minister of that Church, Rev. Cyrus Byington, the pastor of the murderess, pastor also of the murdered woman (for she was a member of the same Church) and Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions? What did Mr. Byington do about it?

Nothing at all. He instituted no measure about it, either of civil justice or Church discipline. So far from being expelled from the Church, the murderess was not even suspended or censured. Perhaps Mr. Byington thought it a necessary incident of that system of slavery which he had taken such pains to defend and continue in the Church. What is certain is that he did nothing about it. Probably all his brother missionaries, who had spent their lives with him in the maintenance of slavery, would have done just the same. Why should they not? Their Churches recognize no particular rights as belonging to slaves. And there is no reason to think that Mr. Byington's standing as a missionary and a minister has suffered in the slightest degree, either in the estimation of the A. B. C. F. M., who then employed him, or in that of the Presbyterian Board of Missions, *who now employ him.*

But in the new march of events, when the Church as well as "the world" shall come to recognize slavery as the sum of all villanies, it will perhaps be thought needful to demand some account of such Churches, such ministers, and such Missionary Boards, before giving them more hundreds of thousands of dollars.

RUSSIA AND AMERICA.

The sympathies of nations are as various as their fortunes. Less than ten years ago, in these Northern United States, the name of Czar comprehended the quintessence of despotism, dark, brutal and barbarous. At an earlier period, indeed, all over the country, that monarch was held up as the foil of our glorious liberty, especially in Fourth of July orations. But during the Crimean war the line betwixt North and South was pretty distinctly drawn, the former almost unanimously favoring the Allies, the latter the Autocrat. This difference was plainly not the result of opposite opinions on the question at issue, but of opposite social systems, which obeyed a natural attraction in siding on the one hand with a civilization belonging to the present, on the other with that belonging to the past. The pulses of slavery and serfdom beat in unison, inevitably. A country in which the serf might be worked without pay, overwhelmed with harsh treatment, atrociously punished, exiled in Siberia forever; in which his wife and daughters were subject to the lust of their master, to whom his property reverted at death, and who was responsible to the law only for the assassination of his slave; a country which cherished a privileged class alone endowed with the power to hold slaves, and the perpetual emulation of every inferior rank; a country in which the real natives were the serfs, and their oppressors foreigners, and in which the beard was the badge of servitude, as color among us; a country with no happy middle classes, no professional judges or lawyers, no trial by jury; a country in which the deathpenalty was revived in 1825, after having slumbered for nigh a hundred years; a country which, under Catharine, struck the word Slave from its dictionary, as our fathers from the Constitution, with equal honesty and sincerity; a country which in 1801 possessed not in all its extent a single bookstore, and in which, during the present century, professors of astronomy and geology were forbidden to teach anything not strictly in accordance with Genesis!—a country, in brief, of which these were the leading characteristics, could not fail to enlist the warmest sympathies of "the slaveholding lords of the South."

But short is the *entente cordiale* of two despotisms tending in diverse directions. The Southern States of America committed themselves deliberately to the slave-ship of 1620. Not so with Russia.

> "A good man even amid his blindfold striving,
> Is of the right way conscious to himself."

Through the long night of dissensions, anarchy and tyranny, in the travail of her birth among the nations, she looked not backward but ever forward. The nineteenth century found her not worshipping at the shrine of Boris Godounoff, emperor and usurper, the founder of serfdom, but, under the benevolent guidance of Alexander I., emancipating the slaves in the Baltic provinces. With the army of that monarch had returned in 1816, from the occupation of Paris, the liberal ideas of republican France which it had fought to extinguish. As our soldiers will come back purged of all respect for slavery, so those who had assisted in the downfall of Napoleon, went home with a new perception and a new abhorrence of the despotism under which they had lived. The outbreak which attended the decease of Alexander was the work of men striving for a constitutional representative monarchy. The attempt failed, and Nicholas trod out the fires of the glowing enthusiasm for liberty. The knout, the prison, the scaffold, the mines, and exile—these were the means by which he hoped to cheat the nation of its opportunity to advance with the age. He banished Tourgueneff, the apostle of emancipation, but he could not expatriate his ideas. The haughty Czar has gone to his account; the philanthropist survives, and witnesses the regeneration of his country and the liberation of the serfs by the son of his persecutor. The revolution which usually comes from below, has begun in this instance at the acme of power. A great people have been lifted up by the sublime justice of one man, their absolute sovereign, and now rush eagerly on in the race of civilization and progress.

It is here that the North should find the explanation of her revulsion of feeling towards Russia. Unhappily, in our admiration of the present emperor for his humanity and courage in freeing the serfs, we are in danger of forgetting that he may be far from having acquitted himself of his whole duty to his fellow-men. We know that if he were fully impressed with the belief in the equality of mankind, he could not retain his sceptre a moment. The sight of his countrymen suffering under a shameful wrong—the statesmanlike estimation of their increased value as subjects when freed—the perception that only through emancipation could Russia attain the level of the first nations of the globe—or even the fatigue confessed by Frederic II. in ruling over slaves—these are sufficient motives for the Emperor's action, which we all applaud. But when he would thrust back Poland to the bloody grave to which his father sent her, we may, nay we must protest in the name of that humanity whose laurels are fresh upon him. It is pitifully selfish to rejoice that France and England are snubbed on the mere suspicion of an intent to interfere between Poland and her oppressor; to taunt these powers with want of courage to declare belligerents the unfortunate Poles, or to play the neutral in their behalf. This is practically to admit that our struggle is one for empire, like Russia's, whereas our condemnation should be free and forthcoming, on the ground that we fight to crush a conspiracy for the creation of a new despotism, while Russia is slaying a people whom it has twice murdered and deprived of their rightful liberty. Our cause cannot possibly be shaken; its justification is in the right of self-defence against a remorseless assassin, and all well in every principle of equity, order and law. We need not clap our hands when a seemingly parallel conflict, with no parallel in the relation of the contending parties, unmasks the cowardice or hypocrisy of our evil wishers. We ought rather indignantly to spurn the forced comparison of Poland to the Confederacy, as an insult and a disgrace to American honor. We have already done sufficient acts of meanness in order to keep clear of foreign interventions. We have behaved basely towards hapless Mexico, in granting to her conqueror the arms which we have refused to her, our friend and natural ally. Treacherous, too, has been our conduct, if, as is asserted, it be true that Mr. Seward confided to M. Mercier the plans of Gen. Scott's campaign in our Mexican war. Here is already enough of fatuity, of defilement of our good name as a republic, of humiliating cringe to *coup d'état* dictators. Save us from further blushing. Toast and fête the Russian Admiral as you please; extol his country—its ruler—its people; but remember that we bow to Alexander as the liberator of millions of serfs, not as the cruel enslaver of a nation of freemen. N.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 19, 1863.

The election of Curtin in this State and the defeat of Vallandigham in Ohio have been among the greatest victories of the war. No triumph yet achieved by Northern arms on Southern battle-field has been of more, if so much, value to the country. For it has not been from direct conflict with the rebels themselves and on their own ground that we have had occasion for alarm. From the beginning, with all their advantages of preparation, and all our disadvantages of being taken by surprise, we have been masters of the situation; demonstrably able to crush them at our pleasure. Their hope has been in European cooperation and Northern aid and comfort. Of these they have had both to a large extent; as a consequence the process of their subjugation has been slow and difficult. Nevertheless that process has gone on steadily and inexorably, so much so that it had become evident to the rebels that nothing could prevent its consummation, but an effectual diversion in their favor either from abroad or at the North. The latter was their chief hope. It was to be made at the October elections. They knew that their co-laborers here had been busy in organizing a Democratic victory; this was an open secret. Lieut. Maury had reassured his sympathizing friends abroad by the most positive assurances on this subject. The July disasters in the field were to be more than repaired by the October successes at the polls. The people were to declare against the war and the Administration; against arbitrary arrests and the proclamation; against the abolition of slavery and the enlistment of negro soldiers. They were to put in power Woodward in Pennsylvania and Vallandigham in Ohio, and these in the exercise of their gubernatorial authority were to do everything possible to end the war. Believing this, the rebels at the South fought and struggled with new heart; hoping it to be true, the sympathizers in England continued their efforts with but little abatement. Had events justified the belief of one and the hopes of the other, where would now be our country? In the coils of the Copperhead at home, and at the mercy of its enemies abroad! Words would be inadequate to describe the magnitude of the disaster.

But no such evil has befallen us. Just the contrary. The elections have given us a guarantee against all such contingencies in the future. And it is for this reason that I regard the triumph of Curtin and the overwhelming defeat of Vallandigham as worth more to the nation at this time than any victory possible to the army of the Potomac or the army of the Cumberland, or both combined.

The majority over Vallandigham is much greater than that over Woodward; but all things considered I consider the one as complete a triumph as the other. Had Vallandigham ran in Pennsylvania his defeat would have been as ignominious as it was in Ohio, and had Brough been opposed by a candidate like Woodward, his triumph would hardly have been more signal than was that of Curtin. Vallandigham, a personally obnoxious man, was run as the open enemy of the war, and the advocate of peace by concessions to the South. Judge Woodward, a man of unexceptionable record personally, was put forward as a friend of the war for the suppression of the rebellion, and the opponent of all concessions favoring disunion. Vallandigham was one of the most odious of all Northern Copperheads. Woodward was among the least exceptionable of all adhering Democrats. Hence the difference in the majorities by which they were defeated.

It was well for the country that there was just this difference between them. It shows that "any how they can fix it," the Democratic party is in a hopeless minority. Whatever may be their professions, or however specious may be their men, the people will not trust them with power. For the people mean to put an end to this war, not by conciliation, but by uncompromising suppression; by the utter and irrevocable extinction of its cause.

The triumph of the government in these elections, especially in that of Pennsylvania, which of course I know more about, is cheering in all its aspects. Besides giving us a good Governor, it gives us a capital Judge for our State supreme bench; thus saving us from copperhead judicial annoyances, to which we should otherwise be liable. David Agnew, an able jurist, and an upright man, takes the place of Judge Lowrie, that supple tool of his party, who with his confreres Woodward and Lewis, refused Passmore Williams on the *habeas corpus* in the Judge Kane case. It changes the majorities in our State Legislature, giving us men who will not be likely to adjourn, as did their predecessors last Winter, leaving the borders of the State defenceless against invasion. It gives us in this city Select and Common Councils, with a preponderance in each in favor of the government. It not only defeats candidates of the Opposition, but it defeats them—in this County at least, and doubtless in others—with a discrimination that is highly edifying. For instance, the vote for Robert Patterson Kane, son of the late Judge Kane, candidate for City Commissioner, fell far below that of his party; making him the lowest on the list save one. That one man, John Brodhead, the copperhead candidate for City Treasurer. Mr. Brodhead was the author of the captured letter bearing his name, written to Jefferson Davis, and lately given to the public among other captured epistles. In that letter, Mr. Brodhead, "longing for a home in the sunny South," desires a mission to Nicaragua, with a view of opening that country "to civilization and niggers." This was baseness too abject even for pro-slavery democracy, and many of them signified their contempt by "scratching" his name. The best feature of the election was the manner in which the friends of the government conducted the canvass. There was no dodging of the main question—no side issues—no disclaimers of anything from anybody, all was fair, square, and above board. The question to be decided was—freedom or slavery? The friends of the former were the friends of the government. On this broad platform they took their stand; defending the Administration in all its measures—including the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, the proclamation of liberty and the enlistment of negro soldiers. All the canvassers from General Butler to Miss Anna E. Dickinson, and from Henry Winter Davis to *Vicksburg* Montgomery, took this ground; and with what effect need not be said. The enthusiasm of the meetings and the large majority at the polls, attest the wisdom as well as justice of this course.

The "documents" of the campaign were in keeping with the speeches. One of these was a huge poster, eight feet by four, got up by the Union candidate for City Treasurer. It set forth the character of the opposing candidate, Mr. Brodhead, by extracts pictorially illustrated from that gentleman's captured letter. The way a new country is "opened to civilization and niggers," was made plain to the dullest capacity. An overseer laying on the lash, a squalid, tumble-down planter's house, with naked little pickaninnies lying around loose, all done in the best style of the xylographic art, made the whole thing so glaring, that he that ran might read. It was for such pictures as these—you will remember—only got up in a much smaller and less likely-to-be-offensive way that we Abolitionists used to be mobbed. Now, candidates for office resort to them to ensure their election. Times are changed, and politicians are changed with them.

And then of the campaign documents was a pamphlet made up of extracts from Mrs. Kemble's "Residence on a Georgia plantation." This also was illuminated by a picture on the cover showing a net-work of scars on a bondman's back. Still another was a reprint of one of our anti-slavery tracts, the Report of Pierce Butler's Slave Auction.

In fact the canvass on the part of the friends of the government was a regular anti-slavery campaign, as much so as if it had been planned by the Executive Board of our American Society. Pennsylvania, for the last five or six weeks, has been a protracted anti-slavery meeting. Miss Dickinson has had overflowing meetings, and has given the greatest satisfaction. The same may be said of Judge Kelly, of U. S. District Attorney Coffey, of Horace Greeley, of George H. Earle, and a score more of well known anti-slavery men. In addition to this our high-ways and hedges have been strewn with abolition publications, and arguments for freedom have constituted the chief reading of the day.

The result is as satisfactory morally as it is politically. Instead of collapsing as we used to do as a community, with a sort of delerium tremens exhaustion after a "log-cabin and hard-cider" campaign, we are now more sober than ever, and stronger and better in every way. The intoxicating, sorcerous spirit of slavery has been so far exorcised from our politics, that a general election is no longer a synonym for a general debauch.

Democratic institutions are receiving a glorious vindication. If I had ever doubted their superiority to all others, especially for a new country with an advanced population, my doubts would have been removed by our late experiences. Ever since we began to throw off the incubus of slavery, and in proportion as we have succeeded, have our elections assumed a new and beneficent character. They used to be an annual terror to all good men; a source of degradation and corruption to the public. Now the very best people we have participate in them with pleasure, and they are being made the means of national enlightenment and purification.

It is clear that any form of government less elastic or less susceptible of adaptation to the wants of the people, would have been insufficient to carry us through the ordeal from which we are now so happily emerging. Many who began to doubt our institutions in the days of a corrupt peace, now have their faith revived and corroborated under the trials of a virtuous war. The result of our contest cannot fail to give a new impulse to democratic advancement everywhere, and to multiply the number of those who favor the largest liberty of the people.

When a boy, at school, I remember to have been nonplussed by two objections urged by Paley, whose Moral Philosophy was our text book, against a democratic form of government. One of these was the difficulty, in times of great national peril, of keeping the State secrets, where there were so many to be consulted. Another was the impossibility for a many-headed government, in time of war, to act with the requisite unity of purpose.

These plausible and apparently well founded objections have been completely refuted by our late experience. Under Buchanan's and other *pseudo* democratic administrations there were no state secrets, except those occasioned by the plottings of the Slave Power (and these, it must be admitted, were pretty well kept). All others—such as contemplated removals from office—were confided to the party, and usually found their way to the public in advance, through the colums of the New York *Herald*. The evil habits thus formed under the pro-slavery democratic regimés of Buchanan and his predecessors, stuck to the government somewhat, after it had passed into new hands, and the first year and a half of Mr. Lincoln's administration furnished no sufficient reply to Paley's objections. But since the proclamation; since the government has adopted a policy, and became a government in earnest, the whole thing is changed. The secrets of the Cabinet, and the secrets of the War Department, at Washington and in the field, are as well guarded as would be possible in any tolerably free government. The people not only permit, but they demand a censorship of the press, and one so strict as to preclude if possible all untimely disclosures.

As for "unity of purpose and energy of action" if these are not characteristics of the government, it is no fault either of the laws or the people. The President for the time being is vested with all the powers of a monarch. The people, of their own accord, have surrendered their right of *habeas corpus*, and other home-bred privileges, and have said in effect to the Executive: "Do as you please; adopt whatever measures seems good to you to suppress the rebellion. Stop at no expense of blood or treasure. Tax us; draft us; imprison us if you suspect us. Spare us in nothing that, in your judgment and that of your Cabinet advisers, may seem necessary to preserve the integrity and ensure the permanent peace of the country."

Thus it is that the genius of our institutions accommodates itself to the exigencies of the country and the wants of the people. In times of peace our masses demand that the rights of every individual shall be respected; in times of war—necessity requiring it—they insist that the government shall be a one man power, ruling with despotic will. They have no fear that this despotic reign will continue after the necessity demanding it shall have ceased. They have confidence in themselves, and are assured that as they voluntarily surrendered their natural prerogatives, they can, when the time comes, as spontaneously resume them.

—But I was speaking of the election; and I forget to mention one of the most pleasing circumstances connected with it. That was the *coup de grace* it gave to General McClellan. That gentleman's political tactics being of the same school as his military, he did not move till the last minute, and then he moved in the wrong direction. On the day before the election a letter appeared in the papers, bearing McClellan's name addressed to the Chairman of the Democratic Central Committee, heartily supporting Woodward as the candidate for Governor. This was all that was needed to bring the General's career to an abrupt period. He is now as dead as a door nail. He got into the same nest with the other Copperheads just at the right moment, and the heads of all of them have been smashed with the same stone. It was an accidental case of *felo-de-se* on the part of the General and was the best service he has ever rendered his country. A national nuisance is abated, and the Copperheads are without a candidate for the Presidency. McClellan is defunct—politically and martially—beyond the hope of resurrection.

One thing more about the election and I have done All the non-resistants that I know of, voted; and voted for Governor Curtin. Our excellent honored friend, Jacob Pierce, once a member of our Executive Committee, and at all times one of the most consistent as well as most ultra of Peace men, voted this year, for the first time in his life. Though seventy-three years of age he had never before cast a ballot!

The opinion that has prevailed among some that men who cannot fight ought not to vote, has been reconsidered, and in many instances reversed. The ballot and the bullet are not, as has been asserted, essentially the same thing; and to vote for a candidate for Governor does not necessarily imply approval of the foundation principle of the government. A man, having the right of suffrage, by virtue of his residence and payment of taxes, whether he be democrat, aristocrat, or theocrat, may exercise that right without compromise of his principles. M.

A TOUR IN NEW ENGLAND.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

During the months of August and September I attended a series of anti-slavery meetings in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. I cannot now write of them in the order which they were held, nor of any one in detail. With two or three days exceptions, where local circumstances and the weather proved unfavorable, the meetings were very well, some of them largely, attended, and were uniformly of an interesting character. The value of thorough teaching, "line upon line, precept upon precept," in the creation of a correct public opinion, has its anti-slavery illustration more fully in Massachusetts than elsewhere. Though the recognized, distinct, radical Abolitionists are not numerous in any of the towns I visited, yet there are in each place, a few of that class, and they constitute a local nucleus of the anti-slavery movement. Through their aid and cooperation during the past fifteen or twenty years many meetings have been held, and much anti-slavery reading matter has been diffused in these localities. The general result is a prevailing anti-slavery tone of public opinion, much superior to any other portion of the North, and an absence of "copperheadism" very noticeable, and refreshing to one accustomed to the political atmosphere of the Hudson river counties, and to the unwholesome, blinding fog of Albany and New York city politics. Elsewhere anti-slavery effort has been occasional, transient, less constant, and elsewhere in the latest expression of political faith, in the midst of a revolutionary period with issues more momentous than those of 1776 we look in vain for the counterpart of the last platform of the dominant party of Massachusetts. Being a guest in Worcester at the time, as a spectator, I attended the recent State Republican Convention, of which your Boston correspondent has given you a very good account. It was a truly remarkable gathering. Remarkable for its dignified, anti-slavery character, for its unanimity and large attendance. Massachusetts leads the nation. She does this in so far as she is herself led by Abolitionism. Garrison her moralist, and "fanatic," points out the way, emancipation, and at last President, governors, and statesmen must enter therein as the only hope of securing national salvation. As against slavery in rebellion it is becoming more and more apparent that scorned and derided abolitionism is the real power, and the main dependence of the North.

I never had my faith in the value of faithful persistent moral teaching, appeal, and admonition more strongly confirmed than in witnessing its general, popular result in the improved character of the Convention at Worcester, as compared with any of its predecessors. What the "Washingtonian" era was to temperance, that has been, the anti-slavery enterprise, to this period of practical emancipation. We have reached the "Maine Law" stage of abolition, but warned by the present condition of the Temperance cause, may we not allow "military necessity" of the present period to be abortive in effecting the removal of slavery by overlooking the continued moral necessity as the vital moving force of the public mind.

Permit me through The Standard to express to friends upon Nantucket, the Cape, and other places visited in Massachusetts, and to the Fairbankses of Providence, and the Chases of Valley Falls, Rhode Island, many thanks for much personal kindness to me, and a generous hospitality. Aaron M. Powell.

Ghent, N. Y., Oct. 12, 1863.

P. S. I addressed last evening an interesting meeting in the Division street church, Albany, Rev. Mr. Ames, pastor. Mr. Ames is the successor of Rev. A. D. Mayo, and is a hearty radical anti-slavery minister. A. M. P.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 19, 1863.

In my last letter I omitted to write upon a subject which should not be overlooked by the Washington correspondent of an anti-slavery journal, and at the risk of a charge of writing upon *old* news I will take up the matter now.

I believe I alluded to the Odd Fellows (colored) procession in this city in my last letter. It was a grand sight to see hundreds of well-dressed colored men, fine-looking, well-conducted, marching through our streets, without an attempt on the part of any white rowdy to insult it or in any shape interfere with it. But it is not the procession that I care to write about at this late day, but it is the conduct of some of the high officials in Washington towards them which I would call up for judgment. When this procession of colored men had marched up in front of the President's house, it halted and gave three cheers for President Lincoln and his Emancipation proclamation. The President was in his mansion, but he did not even come to the window and bow to these hundreds of sober, well-conducted colored citizens. They waited in vain for him, and then passed on, content to pass without recognition. I am aware that Mr. Lincoln was in Cabinet meeting, but what of that? Could he not have excused himself for a single moment with the explanation that as these men had done him the honor to call upon him, and to applaud his acts, he was not to be outdone in courtesy and in cordiality? He might have said to his Cabinet Ministers: "Gentlemen, I am going to bid these quiet, well-behaved colored citizens good morning, and as many of you as like can accompany me!" It would not have mattered if Montgomery Blair had kept his seat, or if Mr. Seward, even, had excused himself, a thing he would *not* have done, for Mr. Seward is *always* polite, even to a negro. Dear old Mr. Bates might have staid behind in the Cabinet room, and the respectable Mr. Usher (I think that is his name) of Indiana might have remained behind with Bates and Blair, and the business of the nation would not have come to a sudden stand-still. But *why* could not Mr. Lincoln have treated the colored procession with politeness? I must express my mind upon the subject, and I certainly think that the President treated the procession very shabbily. It would do him no harm to recall the anecdote of Washington and the colored man who raised his hat to the great patriot and General.

To be charitable, I cannot doubt that the President overlooked the matter, and that if his attention had been properly called to it he would have treated the colored people who cheered him so lustily with some little attention. This may be called by some a very small matter, and not worthy of the attention I have given to it. It is true, in one sense, that it is a small matter, but in another it is not. It is important that the President should set an example to the negro-hating Democrats of the country, and this was a very poor one which he set the other day, and one Copperheads generally will delight to follow.

The President is in very good humor over the election news from Ohio and Pennsylvania. This is natural enough. Not even the fact that Meade has fallen back upon Washington has depressed his spirits. There is no longer any danger of "a fire in the rear." The free States are for the war, and as the greater includes the less, they are for whatever is necessary to carry on the war. Mr. Lincoln sees that and is encouraged. His course is endorsed by the people. Henceforth he has but one thing to care for—that the war be prosecuted with vigor. It will prove to be a dear victory if officials imagine that the people are so patriotic that they will pardon all kinds of blunders on the part of the Administration. They will not. The government must now use all its skill, all its energies to give the rebellion its final death-blow before the Presidential election. There is no earthly reason why the rebel armies should not be crushed before the first day of next July, and I believe that Abraham thinks so too.

It is very unsafe to write upon military matters in a weekly journal, the military situation changes so wonderfully in a week. To illustrate: One week ago Gen. Meade's grand army was down upon the Rappahannock, and now it is almost within sight of Washington. It has *retreated* (I can't in conscience use a fitter word) sixty miles since my last letter. No doubt his position is better to-day for every purpose than it was, *under all the circumstances*. But those persons who tell us that it is a great triumph, a wonderful success to bring the army back close to Washington—that the retreat argues no weakness, either lie or are devoid of reason. If it is a great deal better for the army to lie at Fairfax Court House than at Culpepper Court House, why did Meade ever pursue the enemy below Fairfax? and if it is a great victory for our army to fall back ninety miles upon Washington would it not be considered a perfect extinguisher of the enemy if it were to fall back to Philadelphia? I am perfectly aware that this change of position may be really a most excellent piece of strategy, so far as the entire military combination is concerned. But just here, in Virginia, it is simply *a falling back.*

The man is stupid who cannot perceive the purpose of Gen. Halleck. He means to put Meade on the defensive, and do the offensive fighting elsewhere. There can be no doubt of this. Of course if a good opportunity presents itself he will fight here, and offensively—he will seek the enemy—but with this retreat, just before Winter is setting in, it must be that it is not the purpose of Gen. Halleck to set Meade's army in motion again towards Richmond till Spring comes round. We must have patience, and the Spring will bring us within sight of the end of the war.

The tremendous majority given to Brough in Ohio must convince the President that it is safe for him to take the most radical ground on the slavery question Gentlemen who have returned from Ohio say that of the voters in that State who voted against Vallandigham at least nine-tenths are ready for the most radical measures. They are sick of temporary expedients and wish the government to take still bolder ground in the Border States upon the slavery question. It has been a favorite theory with some calculating Republicans that Mr. Lincoln is compelled to take a moderate course that the people may go with him—the people of the free States being conservative. This theory tumbles to the ground with the Ohio election. It is plain enough now that Mr. Chase could carry Ohio with his ideas by a very heavy majority, and there is no doubt about most of the other free States. The President perceives this fact, and I have always done him the credit of believing him to be at least more radical in his anti-slavery notions than some of his public acts would indicate. He is a practical man and has constantly feared to offend the conservative sentiment in his own party. He has been ready for radical measures when the people would bear them. It is not improbable that the course he has pursued has been a wise one, for he has drawn many conservatives after him who would have been shocked by any sudden radical action upon his part.

The elections have dealt a blow at the Blairs as well as at the Copperheads. They were evidently squinting towards the Democrats—the War Democrats—in their recent course. But the fact is, and the Blairs ought to know it, that the War Democrats of to-day are Abolitionists. They are the most decided radicals in the country, and there are but few men belonging to the war party of the free States who will subscribe to the doctrines enunciated by Montgomery Blair in his Rockville speech. I speak of *the Blairs* as a unit, for they hang together like a bunch of chestnut burrs.

Avon.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY ADVOCATE.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I was much pleased to see in last week's paper your notice of *The Advocate* and your tribute to its faithful service of the anti-slavery cause everywhere, but especially in this country. Let me add a word as to its origin, which perhaps is known to but a few even of the Abolitionists, but which it cannot be improper now to speak. You have spoken, and truly, of the faithful and disinterested labors of the Editor, our long-tried friend, Richard D. Webb, of Dublin. For myself, I find a sincere pleasure in recalling now the simple history of the paper's commencement. Its existence was owing to the single-handed devotion and generosity of one whose peculiar friendship to the anti-slavery cause, during the last twelve years of his life, can never be forgotten by the Abolitionists either of America or England, and can never be too often recalled with honor and gratitude. I speak of John Bishop Estlin of Bristol, England—distinguished not in that city only, but throughout England as a Surgeon and Oculist, but even more distinguished, among those who personally knew him, for the constant, unfailing benevolence of his life.

He had long been interested in the question of slavery in the West India Colonies. But his attention had not been directed to the question of American slavery until the last twelve years of his life. When about fifty-five years of age, and with health much impaired by incessant professional labors, chiefly rendered to those whose circumstances allowed of no compensation to him beyond "the luxury of doing good," he was called to examine the whole subject of slavery in this country. His clear and conscientious spirit swept away the sophistries and idle excuses by which men in every position in life, and in the Church as well as in the State, endeavored to be-juggle men's minds as to the real nature and results of slaveholding. He saw for himself the prime importance, the vital necessity, of the American Anti-Slavery Society and of the moral agitation it had set on foot. He took no counsel of fear, or worldly prudence, still less of that time-serving spirit which is the bane of social life, and upon which the authors of all social mischief rely as one of their best supporters. He saw the magnitude of the question of American slavery. It was no question with him whether he should be the open and outspoken friend of the American Abolitionists or not. The entire remainder of his life was given, with the utmost cheerfulness and with a singular calmness and balance of mind, to the furtherance of the principles and aims of the Anti-Slavery movement. The many means and methods which he organized, aided and carried forward of helping that movement, would require a long space to recount, but to do so is no part of my present purpose. When conviced, as he was, that the London *Reporter* (the organ of the traditional anti-slavery of England) was closed against any effort to do substantial justice to the American Anti-Slavery Society, he looked around to find a vehicle for disseminating the truth. The result of his inquiry was that a new journal was needed in England—both to awaken the slumbering spirit of anti-slavery there, and to vindicate the labors of the most devoted of the American friends of the cause, and so enable their European co-workers to act understandingly and make their labors effective. He knew, by reputation and by correspondence (though I believe they had never met), one man, whose knowledge, judgment, and character, eminently fitted him to be the editor of such a journal—for he had inwardly resolved, if a suitable editor could be found, that the journal should be established, even if its support depended on his unaided contributions. His heart was in the project. And though, at that time, both age and infirm health admonished him to seek rest, he undertook the journey to Dublin for the first time in his life with this sole object in view, and sought out Mr. Webb, a kindred spirit, to whom the appeal, for cooperation in the new work, was not made in vain. To the end of his life, I can only add, Mr. Estlin continued the principal supporter of *The Advocate.* And, when he died, one who inherited his spirit, and had long shared his labors for the cause, steadfastly continued to it the necessary support, until, in the changed circumstances of these times, when American slavery became the daily theme of the ablest British journals, and of the leading moralists and statesmen of the land, the need of the Monthly Advocate seemed to have ceased.

We will not seek to estimate the amount of self-devotion, of high principle, of disinterested labor, of genuine self-sacrifice, which clustered around *The Advocate*, and gave it its power to convince and guide the English mind on the great question of the age. Enough to say that, with its comparatively small means, it has accomplished a most valuable work. And none, who have known familiarly, as we have, its course and spirit, can part with it, its editor, and its supporters, but with feelings of unalloyed affection and respect.

New England.

OBITUARY.

A tribute is due to the affectionate and just. Elizabeth R. Lewis, the subject of this notice, who departed this life at her late residence in West Vincent, Chester County, on the evening of the 10th inst, was remarkable for the kindness and affectionate regard with which she treated all persons without respect to clime or color. Gifted with a clear and discriminating intellect, she based all matters of practice, of faith, and of belief upon the principles of absolute right and justice. This shone most conspicuously in her daily walk and character. Her clear sense of right and justice caused her to feel and act for those in bonds as bound with them, and her pure spirit, embracing the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, led her to testify against all unrighteousness.

The occasion of her funeral at the house and the grave was one of quiet and impressive solemnity. No word was spoken. It would seem unnecessary on that occasion, as the cheerful and childlike simplicity, the pure and angelic spirit which marked the countenance of the deceased, was far more touching and inspiring than anything that could emanate from human lips.

Her departure makes a void in the family of three sisters who lived together in beautiful harmony and in a large circle of relatives and friends which cannot be filled.

The power of our Heavenly Father is around and in all the bereaved, sustaining them in submission, in purity, and in love, until they enter the spirit world and be reunited with the departed forevermore.

Tenth mo. 17th, 1863. E. F. P.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The Army of the Potomac still holds its position undisputed, the rebels not making any demonstration whatever since their severe handlicg at Brentsville. Indeed, it is supposed that, fearing a rise of the Rappahannock at their rear, they have hurried back to the other side of that stream. The report that Lee's army had been thrown across the Potomac into Maryland is contradicted by information received by government.

The Memphis *Bulletin* says that a company of rebels have been again conscripting near Union Depot, who at the last announcements had gone toward Brownsville. Another company were near Macon, fayette County, ten miles from Union Depot. On Saturday another party went into Jannersville. Among the conscripted is H. R. Moseby, candidate for Congress.

Rebel reports from Mississippi state that it is presumed all the rebel State officers and Congressmen have been chosen in the recent election; that a sharp fight had taken place on the Big Black, in which the rebels had been driven back at first, but subsequently drove the Union forces; and that four companies of the Second Iowa Cavalry had been captured at Hernando.

The President has issued a proclamation calling for 300,000 volunteers to take the places of those soldiers now in the field, whose term of service will soon expire. The same regulations heretofore in force will apply to this call—the advance pay, premium, and bounty—and States failing to make up their quotas will be called upon to make up the deficiency by draft.

The Board of Supervisors, of this city, at their meeting on Tuesday, took into consideration the new call by the President for volunteers. A preamble, resolution and ordinance were referred to a Special Relief Committee providing for paying whatever sums are necessary, not exceeding $300 in each case, to secure volunteers, and authorizing the Controller to borrow $2,000,000 to meet the expenditure.

The removal of Gen. Rosecrans has been fully determined upon, and Gen. Thomas is to be his successor. It appears that Gen. Rosecrans has been guilty of quite a catalogue of military offences, a single one of which would be sufficient for the removal of any officer.

Our latest advices from the Army of the Potomac state that the rebels are in full retreat, and that our army is in pursuit. The rebels did great damage to the railroad, with a view, according to the report of a refugee, to capturing supplies and enabling Lee to send another corps to Bragg, and have it return without being disturbed. Parties have been sent out to repair the road.

The government has official advices from Gen. Burnside, that his marches and victories in East Tennessee and Southern Virginia are eminently satisfactory, and that in almost every case the rebels have been whipped and routed. Gen. Burnside speaks in the highest terms of the loyalty of the East Tennesseans.

Gen. Schofield has issued an order placing Gen. McNeil in command of the District of the Frontier, vice Gen. Blunt, who is ordered to report at Leavenworth. Gen. Sanborn takes command of Southwest Missouri, and Gen. Ewing's District of the Border is extended so as to embrace the entire State of Kansas.

Gov. Seymour has issued his proclamation reciting the causes for the call made by the President for more volunteers, reminding our citizens of their duty as good patriots, and announcing to them that he expects all classes to aid, to the extent of their ability, the government in securing volunteers.

The Provost-Marshal General announces that regiments now in service, which reenlist as volunteers, will be credited to their States, and, as far as practicable, to the Congressional districts and sub-districts to which they belong.

A rumor, needing confirmation, has it that the military authorities at Philadelphia are preparing to meet another invasion of Pennsylvania by the rebels.

Gen. Dix has examined the Portland (Me.) harbor defenses, and pronounced them in a satisfactory condition.

The Army and the Negroes.

"Everywhere the American General receives his most useful and reliable information from the Negro, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom.*"—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

A touching episode of the war—Gen. Sherman on the death of his son.

To the Editor of The Detroit Advertiser:

Your readers will doubtless recollect having seen an announcement in the papers a few days since, of the death of a little son of Maj-Gen. W. T. Sherman, a bright, beautiful boy of 8 years, whose disease was contracted while in camp with his father, on the Big Black, twenty miles from Vicksburg. The accompanying letter, addressed to the Thirteenth Infantry, and, by its officers ordered printed for distribution among the soldiers of the regiment, cannot but touch a tender chord in every heart. Stricken father, noble patriot, the hero of uncounted battles; let the nation pause in admiration of his gallant deeds, to weep with the mournor over the young life that no "bugle note will wake."

X.

Gayoso House, Memphis, Tenn., Oct. 4—Midnight.

Capt. C. C. Smith, Commanding Battalion Thirteen/h Regulars.

My Dear Friend: It cannot sleep to-night until I record an expression of the deep feelings of my heart to you, and to the officers and soldiers of the battalion, for their kind behavior to my poor child. I realize that you all feel for my family the attachment of kindred; and I assure you all of full reciprocity. Consistent with a sense of duty to my profession and office, I could not leave my post, and sent for my family to come to me in that fatal climate, and in that sickly period of the year, and behold the result! The child that bore my name, and in whose future I reposed with more confidence than I did in my own plans of life, now floats a mere corpse, seeking a grave in a distant land, with a weeping mother, brother and sisters clustered about him. But, for myself I can ask for no sympathy. On, on, I must go till I meet a soldier's fate, or see my country rise superior to all factions, till its flag is adored and respected by ourselves and all the powers of earth.

But my poor Willy was, or thought he was, a sergeant of the Thirteenth. I have seen his eye brighten and his heart beat as he beheld the battalion under arms, and asked me if they were not real soldiers. Child as he was, he had the enthusiasm, the pure love of truth, honor and love of country, which should animate all soldiers. God only knows why he should die thus young. He is dead, but will not be forgotten till those who knew him in life have followed him to that same mysterious end.

Please convey to the battalion my heartfelt thanks, and assure each and all that if, in after years, they call on me or mine, and mention that they were of the Thirteenth regulars when poor Willy was a sergeant they will have a key to the affections of my family that will open all it has—that we will share with them our last blanket, our last crust. Your friend.

W. T. Sherman, Major-General.

The remains of Gen. Sherman's son Willie, who died recently at Memphis, were escorted to the steamer by a large number of staff and regimental officers, wearing mourning badges. He was a mimic sergeant of the 13th Regulars,

Miscellaneous Department.

"CASA WAPPY."

["Casa Wappy" (a childish epithet of nursery endearment) was written by the late Professor Moir, of Edinburg, and is an exquisitely touching poem:]

Gem of our hearth, our household pride,
Earth's undefiled!
Could love have saved, thou hadst not died—
Our dear, sweet child!
Humbly we bow to Fate's decree;
Yet had we hoped that time should see
Thee moura for us, not us for thee—
Casa Wappy!

Methinks thou smil'st before me now
With glance of stealth,
The hair thrown back from thy full brow
In buoyant health;
I see thine eyes' deep violet light,
Thy dimpled cheek carnationed bright,
Thy clasping arms, so round and white—
Casa Wappy!

Thy nursery shows thy pictured wall,
Thy bat, thy bow,
Thy cloak and bonnet, club and ball—
But where art thou?
A corner holds thy empty chair;
Thy playthings idly scattered there
But speak to us of our despair—
Casa Wappy!

We mourn for thee when blind, blank night
The chamber fills;
We pine for thee when morn's first light
Reddens the hills;
The sun, the moon, he stars, the sea,
All, to the wall-flower and sweet pea,
Are changed; we saw the world thro' thee—
Casa Wappy!

'Tis so; but can it be (while flowers
Revive again)
Man's doom in death that we and ours
For aye remain?
Oh! can it be that o'er the grave
The grass renewed shall yearly wave,
Yet God forget our child to save—
Casa Wappy?

It cannot be; for were it so
That man could die,
Life were a mockery, thought were woe,
And truth a lie;
Heaven were a coinage of the brain,
Religion, frenzy, virtue vain,
And all our hopes to meet in vain—
Casa Wappy.

AFRICAN HUNTERS.

While the sons of Africa are giving us so much trouble here in America, their country is becoming annually more and more interesting, as the resort of explorers and traders in the northern portions, and hunters as well as explorers in the south. The latest book on African adventure is one from the press of the Harpers, being a journal of several years devoted to hunting in South Africa, by an Englishman, William C. Baldwin, who, for the love of adventure, went there nine years ago, tempted, indeed, by the tremendous hunting stories of Gordon Cumming, and who has led a remarkable life in the neighborhood of Natal (distinguished latterly for the production of Bishop Colenso). He had an adventurous life, with, perhaps, less of suffering than usually attends the African hunter, and not the least important of his adventures was the meeting with Dr. Livingstone, at the falls of the Zambesi. If there is any American lover of field sports who desires to find a country which far surpasses the western continent for the pursuit of game, it can be no longer doubted that he may do so by going to South Africa. When Gordon Cumming's book was published, its stories were received with a serene smile of derision, or an amused stare of surprise that any one should dare invent such incredible Munchausenisms. But the experience of later sportsmen has abundantly sustained the veracity of Cumming, and no need exists now to doubt any portion of his accounts. The game in which the country abounds is of great variety. Elephants rank first, as the largest, and also the most dangerous animals to deal with, and the additional attraction exists in pursuing them, that the ivory tusks are of great value, and help to make the hunter's life profitable as well as pleasant. But the elephant hunting is not so good as it has been in former years, owing perhaps to the fact that the Kaffirs are furnished with poor guns, and while they do not kill many they undoubtedly frighten more or less of them into more remote wilds, where villainous saltpetre is as yet a comparatively unknown article in compound with charcoal and sulphur. The rhinoceros, white as well as black, is found also in great abundance. The uses to which the hide is put are numerous, but the South Africans do not seem to set that high value on the horn which is given to it on the upper Nile, and in the Mohammedan countries. The Monammedans have a tradition that rhinoceros horn cups absorb poison, and either on this account, or as one of the results of "fashion," which rules among them as among Christians, they pay fabulous prices for large cups and bowls made from that horn. A horn is turned down, so as to form one bowl from the largest part of it, a smaller bowl or cup from the next section, and thus two or three cups are made from one horn, the price of the larger size being sometimes several pounds sterling. In South Africa they use the horn only for knife handles and similar purposes. The variety of deer in South Africa is very great. It is impossible, in the space given to an article like this, to enumerate and describe them. They are said to excel in character as food, and indeed nothing comes amiss to the Africans for food; for the hunter who slays a half dozen elephants in a day does not make a wanton waste of the meat. On the contrary, the country, swarms with a population of natives, who are overjoyed at the arrival of an Englishman armed with death-dealing weapons, and who devour every particle of the wild beasts he kills, even to the entrails themselves, and thus it occurs that hunting in South Africa becomes a work of mercy to the human race. For in some of the dry seasons when Mr. Baldwin was shooting there, large numbers of the people would in all probability have died of starvation, but for the food provided for them by his gun.

Not the least worthy of mention in the list of African game is the giraffe, an animal that no one could desire to kill, unless as food. They are found in droves in the interior, and the hunter shoots them for the use of his men.

The general plan of the South African hunter who pursues Mr. Baldwin's example, is this: Starting at Natal, he provides himself with oxen, wagons and horses—the latter to be used in hunting—and the wagons loaded with lead, gunpowder, food of farinaceous kinds, and beads, calico, brass wires, etc., for trade with the natives. A number of Kaffirs, as servants, and some experienced Kaffir guides and hunters are necessary to the party. Entering the wild country, the hunter pushes his way northward toward the Tropic, and perhaps crosses it. He shoots as he goes along, providing his troop and the natives along the route with food, and when he approaches the elephant country he trades for ivory, loading his wagons as he can with the valuable tusks. His trials and troubles are not a few. His horses, unless acclimated to the interior, will die; possibly even if they are acclimated. His oxen will have a way of dying, from unaccountable causes. Sometimes they eat poison; sometimes lions and lionesses devour six or eight of them in a night, and frighten the rest to the ends of the earth, whence they must be hunted up; sometimes they go off without being frightened, and their bones are found where tigers and hyenas and lions left them all cleaned. Long stretches must be made across the country without water. The oxen suffer. The human beings carry a supply in the entrails of animals, said to be an excellent way of keeping it cool, but objectionable, nevertheless, on other accounts. The natives are, on the whole, inoffensive, but they cannot be trusted, and some chiefs are severe in their exactions. What, with trading and shooting, the hunter may bring back a load of ivory amply paying his expenses and losses, but the sufferings he has endured would, perhaps, not tempt him to try it a second time.

ANECDOTE OF WELLINGTON.

A little work entitled "Good Things for Railway Readers," just published in London, contains among a thousand other anecdotes, the following in reference to the Duke of Wellington:

"Carew, the sculptor, told Haydon the following story of the Duke of Wellington: The Duke was at the Marchioness of Downshire's, and the ladies plagued him for some of his stories. For some time he declared all his stories were in print. At last he said, 'Well, I'll tell you one that has not been printed.' In the middle of the battle of Waterloo he saw a man in plain clothes riding about on a cob in the thickest fire. During a temporary lull the Duke beckoned him, and he rode over. He asked him who he was and what business he had there. He replied he was an Englishman, accidentally at Brussels, that he had never seen a fight and wanted to see one. The Duke told him he was in eminent danger of his life; he said, 'Not more than your Grace,' and they parted. But every now and then the Duke saw the cob man riding about in the smoke, and at last having nobody to send to a regiment, he again beckoned to this little fellow and told him to go up to that regiment and order them to charge—giving him some mark of authority the colonel would recognize. Away he galloped, and in a few minutes the Duke saw his order obeyed. The Duke asked him for his card, and found in the evening, when the card fell out of his sash, that he lived at Birmingham and was a button-maker! When at Birmingham the Duke inquired of the firm, and found he was their traveller, and then in Ireland. When he returned, at the Duke's request, he called on him in London. The Duke was happy to see him, and said he had a vacancy in the Mint at £800 a year, where accountants were wanted. The little cob man said it would be exactly the thing, and the Duke installed him—much to his Grace's honor."

PROFESSOR MULLER ON THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDU.

Professor Max Muller delivered a lecture at the Royal Institution on Friday Evening, 29th ult., "On the Vedas or Sacred books of the Hindu." On the table there were placed four thick octavo volumes, which constituted only two-thirds of the translation of the Vedas and commentaries, which are in the course of publication; and in his treatment of the subject Professor Max Müller stated first, the causes which had induced him to undertake the work, and the difficulties attending its production, and then he explained the general and distinctive characters of the four books of the Vedas, examined their claims to antiquity, and considered the practical utility of presenting the work to the public in an accessible and generally readable form. He said that, after having spent two years in collecting materials for the work, he could not find any one who would undertake to publish it, and he had determined to abandon the enterprise and to return to Germany, but on applying at the Prussian Embassy in 1848 to have his passport vised, the Ambassador persuaded him to remain and persevere in his labor, and not only provided him with the means for doing so, but by his influence with the chairman of the East India Company induced the directors to undertake the production of the work, the fourth volume of which was published last year. The first of these sacred books, each of which is regarded by the Hindus to be divinely inspired, consists of hymns and sacred poetry, and is called the Rigveda. It is, Professor Müller observed, the most valuable of the whole, and many of the poems are extremely beautiful. The meaning of the word "Veda" is knowledge, and the sacred books are supposed to contain all the truths requisite for man to know. The root of the word is the same in all the Aryan languages, and from it is derived the Latin *videre*, to see, sight being the principal inlet to knowledge. Professor Müller took occasion to advert to his opinions respecting the origin of languages, all of which may, he said, be traced to one original source, though the source itself has been lost. The Vedas are considered by the Hindus to date as far back as fourteen hundred years before Christ, but the earliest manuscript containing them is not older than the fourteenth century of the Christian era, and there is consequently a gap of nearly three thousand years to be bridged over. This is satisfactorily done, Professor Müller considers, by tradition as far back as one thousand years before Christ, it being an important part of the study of the Brahmins to commit the Vedas to memory, and to teach them to those who are educating for the priesthood; and to this day the practice of oral teaching of the Vedas is continued. He read several passages from his translation of the Rigveda, expressing noble sentiments and a high degree of religious feeling, and Professor Müller observed that the study of the Vedas has prepared the Hindu mind to receive Christianity, though the native prejudices offer at present a formidable obstacle. He mentioned one instance of the severe persecution to which a Brahmin is subjected when he becomes a convert to Christianity, but notwithstanding the severity of the trial several of them undergo it for the sake of truth. The translation of the Vedas is calculated to be of great service to the Christian missionaries, for hitherto they have been generally met with the objection that the Vedas contain all the truths necessary to be known; but now, with the sacred books of the Hindus open to them, the missionaries will be able to expose their errors and to point to other truths of far greater importance than those contained in the Vedas.

SHAKSPEARE'S "TOUCHSTONE."

Touchstone is a fellow possessing genuine qualities of attachment and affection. When Rosalind is expelled the court by the usurping duke, and Celia, in that gentle speech, resolves to share her fortunes, the question is started, whether it were not good to have the Fool for their safeguard; and she says, "He'll go along o'er the wide world with me: leave me alone to woo him." And in this act Touchstone makes a generous sacrifice; for he has been born and bred in the luxury of what the Neapolitans call the "dolce far niente"—the "delicious do naught?"—he had all his days run about the court and amused himself: he is an over-fed lap-dog with all the snappishness, and none of the ill temper. The court-life was to him a second nature; nevertheless, it becomes a second object in his choice when his young mistress is to leave it. And although it may be said that he was ignorant of what he had to encounter in following a woodland life, subject to the shrewd caprice of the elements; yet, when he does encounter them, he bears the change from that he prefers, with all the playfulness and sweet temper of the wiseliest ordred mind. "I care not for my spirits," he says, "if my legs were not weary." And to Celia, who can walk no farther, and begs them to "bear with her;" "For my part, I had rather bear with you than bear you; yet I should bear no cross if I did bear you (the cross was a coin); for I think you have no money in your purse. Now I am in Arden; the more fool I; when I was at home I was in a better place; but travellers must be content." Touchstone has good and gentlemanly feeling; witness his rebuke to the courtier Le Beau, who gives a description of the hurts and wounds of the three young fellows who have been overthrown by Charles, the wrestler, and the moan made over them by their poor old father; and which encounter he details with a cruel relish and enjoyment as "sport," and expressing regret that the ladies have missed seeing it. Touchstone asks: "But what is the 'sport,' Monsieur, that the ladies have lost?" Le Beau: "Why, that that I speak of." —Touch: "Thus men may grow wiser every day! It is the first time that ever I heard breaking of ribs was sport for ladies." Touchstone has also right feeling; for, although his wordly-reaped terrors of matrimony give him a qualm or two, and a momentary thought of availing himself of the hedge-parson's services to wed him, that so slip-knot a marriage might give him a chance of retreating, in case of repenting at leisure; yet his good faith and "right feeling" hold good, and he determines to act honorably by the trusting and doting Audrey. He has a keen eye for pretension; for he sees through Professor Jacques's pretended immaculacy, and his assumption in moral philosophy. He treats him with a kind of old-glove easiness of familiarity,—a negligent dressing-gown air of equality, as amusing in effect as it is warranted in fact. "Good even, good Master What-d'ye-call't. How do you do, sir? You are very well met. I am very glad to see you. Nay; pray be covered." He has the delightful quality (quite that of a sweet-natured person—one who is at once good-hearted, good-humored, and good-minded), of being able to make himself happy and contented wherever fortune chances to cast him. He is gay and easy at Court, he is good-tempered and at ease in the forest. He makes himself at home anywhere and everywhere, for he carries his own sunshine about with him. Touchstone is not a mere jester—a mere extractor of fun from what occurs around him; and he is not in the least a buffoon; there is nothing low or common in his composition. He has an excellent sense, and the good feeling to draw truth and beauty, as well as fine humor, out of passing life.—*Mr. Cowden Clarke's Shakspeare.*

BACON ON DUELLING.

Bacon, while the Attorney-General of England, was rallied to deliver his judgment upon the theory and practice of duelling. The case arose upon information in the Star Chamber against Priest and Wright, who were convicted and sentenced to fine and imprisonment for sending and bearing a challenge to fight a duel. The whole charge of Bacon and the decree of his court are worthy of careful study. We cite only the following extracts:

"Touching the cause of the duel, the first motive no doubt, is a false and erroneous imagination of honor and credit; therefore, the king, in his last proclamation, doth most aptly and excellently call them bewitching duels. For, if one judge truly, it is no better than a sorcery that enchanteth the spirits of young men that bear great minds with a false show; and a kind of satanical allusion and apparation of honor against law, against moral virtue, and against the precedents and examples of the best times and the valiantest nations. But then the seed of this mischief being such, it is nourished by vain discourses and green and unripe conceits, which, nevertheless, have so prevailed as though a man were sober-minded and a right believer touching the vanity and unlawfulness of these duels; yet the stream of vulgar opinion is such as imposeth a necessity upon men of value to conform themselves, or else there is no living or looking upon men's faces; so that we have not to do in this case so much with particular persons as with unsound and depraved opinions, like the dominations and spirits of the air which the Scripture speaketh of. Hereunto may be added that men have almost lost the true notion and understanding of fortitude and valor. For fortitude distinguisheth of the grounds of quarrels, whether they be just; and not only so, but whether they be worthy; and setteth a better price upon men's lives than to bestow them idly; nay, it is weakness and disesteem of a man's self to put a man's life upon such leger performances. A man's life is not to be trifled away; it is to be offered up and sacrificed to honorable services, public merits, good causes and noble adventures. It is an expense of blood as it is an expense of money; it is no liberality to make a profusion of money upon every vain occasion; nor no more is it fortitude to make effusion of blood, except the case be of worth."

TO ROBERT GOULD SHAW,

Buried by South Carolinians under a pile of twenty-four Negroes.

On Alaric, buried in Busento's bed,
The slaves the stream who turned were butchered thrown,
That, so his grave eternally unknown,
No mortal on the Scourge of God might tread.
A nobler hero thou hast nobler grave,
In Wagner's trench, made by unwilling slaves,
Beneath the corpses hid of thy black braves,
Who, freed, their lives for freedom willing gave.
In death, as life, round thee their guard they keep.
And, when next time they hear the trumpet's sound,
Will they with thee on heaven's parapet leap;
The four and twenty elders on the ground
Their crowns before thy lowly comrades lay,
While, "Come up higher, friend!" thou hear'st God say.

Cambridge, Mass. L. M.
—*Evening Post.*

A PLEA FOR VAGABONDS.

From Alexander Smith's New Book.

The fresh, rough, heathery parts of human nature, where the air is freshest, and where the linnets sing, is getting encroached upon by cultivated fields. Everyone is making himself and herself useful. Everyone is producing something. Everybody is clever. Everybody is a philanthropist. I don't like it. I love a little eccentricity. I respect honest prejudices. I admire foolish enthusiasm in a young head better than a wise scepticism. It is high time, it seems to me, that a moral game law were passed for the preservation of the wild and vagrant feelings of human nature.

Ah, me! what a world this was to live in two or three centuries ago, when it was getting itself discovered—when the sunset gave up America. Then were the Arabian Nights commonplace, enchantments a matter of course, and romance the most ordinary thing in the world. Then man was courting nature; now he has married her. Yet, for all that time has brought and taken away, I am glad to know that the vagabond sleeps in our blood and awakes now and then.

Overlay nature as you please, here and there some bit of rock or mound of aboriginal soil will crop out with the wild flowers growing upon it, sweetening the air. Genius is a vagabond; Art is a vagabond; Enterprise is a vagabond. The first fine day in Spring awakes the gipsy in the blood of the English workman, and incontinently he "babbles of green fields." On the English gentleman, lapped in the most luxurious civilization, and with the thousand powers and resources of wealth at his command, descends oftentimes a fierce unrest, a Bedouin-like horror of cities and the cry of the money-changer, and in a month the fiery dust rises in the track of his desert steed, or in the six months' Polar midnight he hears the big waves dashing on the icy shore.

"Vagabonds have moulded the world into its present shape. Respectable people swarm in the track of the vagabond as rooks in the track of the ploughshare. Respectable people do little in the world, except storing wine cellars and amassing fortunes for the benefit of spendthrift heirs. Respectable well-to-do Grecians shook their heads over Leonidas and his three hundred when they went down to Thermopylæ. Respectable Spanish churchmen, with shaven crowns, scouted the dream of Columbus. Respectable German folks attempted to dissuade Luther from appearing before Charles and the princes and electors of the empire. Nature makes us vagabonds; the world makes us respectable.

Commend me to Shakspeare's vagabonds, the most delightful in the world! His sweet-blooded and liberal nature blossomed into all fine generosities as naturally as an apple-bough into pink blossoms and odors. It would be better if we could have along with our modern enlightenment our higher tastes and purer habits, a greater individuality of thought and manner; better that every man should be allowed to grow in his way, so long as he does not intringe on the rights of his neighbor, or insolently thrust himself between him and the sun. A little more air and light should be let in upon life. I should think the world had stood long enough under the drill of Adjutant Fashion. It is hard work; the posture is wearisome, and Fashion is an awful martinet, and has a quick eye, and comes down mercilessly on the unfortunate wight who cannot square his toes to the approved pattern, or who appears on parade with a darn in his coat or with a shoulder-belt insufficiently pipe-clayed. It is killing work. Suppose we try 'standing at ease' for a little."

GREAT CHESS-PLAYING FEAT.

In a Berlin letter we find the following report of a wonderful feat of Herr Paulsen, the great chess-player, recently accomplished at Dusseldorf: "At a congress of the Rhenish chess-clubs, Herr Paulsen played ten games at a time, fighting 20 opponents at every board, and continuing for 15 hours unremittingly. At the end of this extraordinary effort, rendered more difficult by turning his back to the boards, and opposing players of tried metal, he had lost three games, won three, and come to a draw in the case of the four others. The monster contest lasted from half-past two till half-past five in the morning. While it was going on Herr Paulsen never left the chair, placed at some distance from the boards, and at the further end of the platform erected at one side of the hall. The boards were watched in his interest by Herr Wilfred Paulsen, his brother, and also a phenomenon in his way, who moved the figures, announcing in a loud voice his opponent's moves. He exhibited a power of memory nearly similar to that of his brother's, for while the latter was playing with one of the ten, he allowed the nine others to displace the figures, and try all sorts of moves, showing the position of the board when he left it whenever their turn came round. He as well as his brother kept in mind during the game an aggregate amount of 640 squares, with 320 figures distributed over them; but the elder Paulsen had them before his eyes, the younger relying upon memory alone, besides calculating his chances, and fighting two hundred opponents, headed by skillful and renowned adepts. There were 333 moves made on either side, every opponent having about half-an-hour's time for reflection, and no more than three minutes being usually required by the common antagonist. The rare spectacle was attended by a large concourse of people, who would rush in and out at all hours of the night, inquiring earnestly into the state of the games, and health of Herr Paulsen, whom they evidently believed to be smarting under a kind of mental rack. Others were fastend to their seats, and felt it impossible to absent themselves and leave the unique exhibition for a moment. There is no beverage admitted but water, and no refreshments partaken of by Herr Paulsen and the large majority of the players.

Herr Paulsen is a young man of twenty-nine, tall and lank, and with a cranium which would be the delight of phrenological science. He lives at Blomberg, an estate of his brother's. There are few, if any, in that rustic neighborhood with whom he cares to play; and the two brothers, being too well conversant with each other's peculiar style and tactics, derive little amusement and advantage from trying their old tricks and well-known treacheries against each other. However, as they stroll about the country they play upon an imaginary board, going on with the game for a few minutes, and then catching each other in devices which will result in overturning aerial structure. In reply to the inquiries of his admiring friends, Herr Paulsen stated that, while playing with one of them, the remembrance of the other boards was entirely obliterated in his mind; but when he proceeded to the next, the new board turned up before his internal eye, without any effort, and very much in the way of a side scene sliding on, and changing the aspect of a theatre from forest to parlor, and from parlor to lake. He says he has been a truly scientific player for six or seven years only, when he took up the study in right good earnest, acquainting himself with the theory of the game.

The Russian Place of Honor.—In the corner of each room might be seen the usual little picture, with the small lamp in front. "Why is it that we so frequently see these lamps placed in the corners? Is it intentional or merely accidental?" we inquired of the guide. "It is intentional; the corner is considered the most honored place; and if you will watch, you will find the corners devoted to the objects of the greatest reverence. The Czars are crowned in a corner; the tombs of the mightiest of them rest in the corners; the most sacred pictures hang in the corners, not only of churches, but of private houses." "How very singular," thought we, at the remembrance to the very different purposes to which our corners in old England are devoted.

The Candid Physician.—A gentleman called some time since to consult a physician with regard to rheumatism which caused him much pain. The doctor immediately sat down and wrote him a prescription. As the patient was going away the doctor called him back. "By the way, sir, should my prescription happen to afford you any relief, please let me know, as I am myself suffering from an affection similar to yours, and for the last twenty years have tried in vain to cure it."

CURIOUS ALPINE EXPERIENCES.

Professor Tyndall sends us for publication some curious Alpine experiences of Mr. Robert Spencer Watson and his party in the region of the Jungfrau. The suddenness of the atmospheric changes will recall the similar observations of Mr. Whymper on the Matterhorn, recorded in our pages a fortnight ago. Mr. Watson says:—"On the 10th of July I visited the Col de la Jungfrau from the Æggishorn, in company with my wife and Messrs. John Sowerby and W. G. Adams, of Marlborough College. We had with us guides J. M. Claret, of Chamounix, and a young man from the hotel. The early morning was bright, and gave promise of a fine day, but, as we approach the Col, clouds settled down upon it, and on reaching it we encountered so severe a storm of wind, snow, and hail, that we were unable to stay more than a few minutes. As we descended, the snow continued to fall so densely that we lost our way, and for some time we were wandering up the Lotsch Sattel. We had hardly discovered our mistake when a loud peal of thunder was heard, and shortly after I observed that a strange singing sound like that of a kettle was issuing from my alpen-stock. We halted, and, finding that all the axes and stocks emitted the same sound, stuck them into the snow. The guide from the hotel now pulled off his cap, shouting that his head burned, and his hair was seen to have a similar appearance to that which it would have presented had he been on an insulated stool under a powerful electrical machine. We all of us experienced the sensation of pricking or burning in some part of the body, more especially in the head and face, my hair standing on end in an uncomfortable and very amusing manner. The snow gave out a hissing as though a heavy shower of hail were falling; the veil on the wide awake of one of the party stood upright in the air, and on waving our hands the singing sound issued loudly from the fingers. Whenever a peal of thunder was heard the phenomena ceased, to be resumed before the echoes had died away. At these times we felt shocks, more or less violent, in those portions of the body which were most affected. By one of these my right arm was paralyzed so completely that I could neither use nor raise it for several minutes, nor, indeed, until it had been severely rubbed by Claret, and I suffered much pain in the shoulder-joint for several hours. At half-past 12 the clouds began to pass away, and the phenomena finally ceased, having lasted 25 minutes. We saw no lightning, and were puzzled at first as to whether we should be afraid or amused. The young guide was very much alarmed, but Claret, who is devoid of fear, and who had twice before heard the singing (though without any of the other symptoms), laughed so heartily that we joined him. No evil effects were felt afterwards beyond the inconvenience arising from the burning of our faces, which though we had no sun, were almost livid in hue when we arrived at the Æggisch-horn."—*Athenæum.*

DISCOVERER OF PHOTOGRAPHY.

The degree of LL.D. was on the first of April last conferred upon William H. Fox Talbot, Esq., in the University of Edinburg, Scotland, upon which occasion Professor Muirhead made the following address:

Vice-Chancellor: I now present to you, as also accounted by the Senatus Academicus worthy to have conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws in this University, William Henry Fox Talbot, Esq., a Master of Arts of Cambridge, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. It is not because of his political services that I present Mr. Talbot to your notice (though he too has had a seat in the Legislative Council of the nation), but because of his preëminence in literature and science, and the benefits his discoveries have conferred upon society. When I tell you, sir, that at Cambridge, Mr. Talbot was in mathematics, a wrangler, and in classics, the Chancellor's medalist, I but mention some of those early honors that were looked upon as earnests of his future triumphs. His subsequent career has not been behind his academic promise. Literature owns with gratitude her obligations to his philological inquiries. Oriental antiquities—and, in particular, the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria—have been materially elucidated by his investigations. The transactions of our learned bodies, and the medal awarded him by the Royal Society in 1838, bear witness to the value of his mathematical researches, especially in the field of optics; and chemistry has profited not a little by his experiments in connection with the spectrum analysis.

But all these claims of his to grateful recognition pass into the shade when contrasted with that one which no man, sir, is better able to appreciate than you—his claim to our acknowledgment as the discoverer of the art of photography. Wedgewood and Davy, indeed, had early in the century some faint idea of the secret; the elder Niepce had experimented not entirely without success; Daguerre had announced that he had overcome the difficulties that had baffled his predecessors; but it was Mr. Talbot who first made known that method of photogenic operation which, however imperfect originally, has yet formed the basis of all that is valuable in the subsequent development of the art. The photography of the present day—far still, no doubt, from perfection, yet productive of exquisitely beautiful results, and capable of application to innumerable industrial and æsthetical purposes—owes its existence to him. The discoveries of Herschel, Niepce de St. Victor and Archer, much as they contributed to the advancement of the art, yet all are based upon the conclusions at which Mr. Talbot had arrived after years of patient scientific investigation and experiment. Niepce and Daguerre, who had attained results hardly less evanescent than the sunbeams that imprinted, reaped substantial reward from a government proud to claim for France the honor of their comparatively worthless discoveries. Mr. Talbot is left to obtain his acknowledgment in the gratitude of his countrymen, and the distinctions which we and others who appreciate his labors and know their intrinsic value, have it in our power to bestow. Confer, then, upon him also, I pray you, sir, the honor for which I now present him, and of which his literary and scientific attainments, his philosophical and philological researches, and the important services he has rendered to industrial and æsthetical art, make him eminently worthy.

The Vice-Chancellor (Sir D. Brewster) then, amid great applause, conferred the degree upon Mr. Talbot. The body of the hall was crowded with students, and the galleries were filled with ladies.

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE "PILGRIM'S PROGRESS."

It attained quick popularity. The first edition was "Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Peacock in the Poultry, 1678," and before the year closed a second edition was called for. In the four following years it was reprinted six times. The eighth edition, which contains the last improvements made by the author, was published in 1682, the ninth in 1684, and the tenth in 1685. In Scotland and the colonies it was even more popular than in England. Bunyan tells that in New England his dream was the daily subject of conversation of thousands, and was thought worthy to appear in the most superb binding. It had numerous admirers, too, in Holland, and among the Huguenots in France. Yet the favor and the enormous circulation of the "Pilgrim's Progress was limited to those who read for religious edification and made no pretense to critical taste. When the *literati* spoke of the book, it was usually with contempt. Swift observes, in his "Letter to a Young Divine": "I have been entertained and more informed by a few pages in the Pilgrim's Progress than by a long discourse upon the will and intellect, and simple and complex ideas;" but we apprehend the remark was designed rather to depreciate metaphysics than to exalt Bunyan. Young, of the "Night Thoughts," coupled Bunyan's prose with D'Urfé's doggerel, and in the "Spiritual Quixote" the adventures of Christian are classed with those of Jack the Giant-killer and John Hickathrift. But the most curious evidence of the rank assigned to Bunyan in the eighteenth century appears in Cowper's couplet, written so late as 1782:

"I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame."

It was only with the growth of purer and more catholic principles of criticism toward the close of the last century and the beginning of the present, that the popular verdict was affirmed, and the Pilgrim's Progress registered among the choicest of English classics. With almost every Christmas there now appears one or more editions of the Pilgrim, sumptuous in typography, paper, and binding, and illustrated by favorite artists. Ancient editions are sought for by collectors; but, strange to say, only one perfect copy of 1678 is known to be extant. Originally published for one shilling, it was bought a few years ago, by Mr. H. S. Holford, of Tetbury, in its old sheepskin cover, for twenty guineas. It is probable that, if offered again for sale, it would fetch twice or thrice that sum.—*Book of Days.*

Rather Dry.—Two clergymen, on their way afoot to a Connecticut church, where one of them, Rev. Mr. H——, was to officiate, were overtaken by a drenching shower. As they reached the church door, the preacher expectant said to the other: "Dr., what shall I do? I'm soaking wet. It won't do to go into the pulpit so." "Oh, never mind, Brother H——," rejoined the Doctor, "you'll be dry enough as soon as you get to preaching."

BOURBON INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE.

A series of lectures has recently been delivered in London by Madame Clara Leyton Lecard, with a view of bringing to light and explaining certain instruments of torture alleged to have been recently discovered in the fortress of Castellamare at Palermo, and supposed to have been used on political prisoners during the reign of the two last Bourbon Kings of Naples. The introductory lecture consisted of sketches of the governmental system of Francis I., Ferdinand II., and Francis II., Kings of Naples, and instances of the torture of offenders, more or less innocent or guilty of political offenses, were adduced.

The instruments of torture were then produced, and it was stated that a certain Dr. Guiseppe Mani, of Palermo, having had reason to believe that peculiar instruments of torture were concealed in the fortress of Castellamare, obtained a commission from the present government to search for them; and in the result, within a walled up recess, three special devices for cruelly punishing perverse and non-confessing prisoners were discovered. They consist of a foot-burner, made of plates of copper, beneath which flames are kindled, and which scorch the soles of the feet of a person chained upon it; of a chair of iron and copper, very ingeniously and with much mechanical skill devised, in which the sufferer is helplessly confined, while beneath him a fire is caused to burn; and a cap of iron, which fits on the head and beneath the chin of the wearer, and can be screwed up to any given point of tightness. These singular machines for inflicting pain were exhibited in a harmless fashion on the person of a free-born Briton, who, when a "little fire" was about to be created beneath the iron chair in which he was bound fast, asserted his liberty by very decidedly declining to have it brought into contact with the candescent metal on which he was seated, and within which he was inclosed. The finding of the machines is very punctiliously and authoritatively attested, but no clue is given as to the period to which they could positively be assigned.

EXTRAORDINARY, IF TRUE.

In 1844 a young man left a village near Chamouny, on a pilgrimage to the Convent of St. Bernard, in consequence of a vow made before gaining the belle of the village. After leaving the Convent, he went to several places and bought some linen with the intention of smuggling it across the Sardinian frontier. To do this he had to go by an unfrequented track. He started on his perilous journey, and was never heard of again until a few weeks ago, when a shepherd who had lost his way, on jumping across a glacier, saw a wonderful sight. The rays of the sinking sun illuminated a gulf of ice, looking like a vast crystal cavern, in the midst of which was the figure of a man, lying flat on his back, with apparently open eyes, and hands folded across his breast, and with a large parcel, serving as a pillow, under his head. The shepherd hallooed at the top of his voice, and then screamed; but not a voice answered from below. At break of dawn next morning a party of mountaineers, guided by the shepherd, and provided with ropes and axes, set out for the spot. The crystal sarcophagus was soon found, and the boldest of the company was let down to the icy depths, from which he brought in his arms the body of a young man, frozen, and hard as stone, yet looking still fresh and life-like. Attached to the corpse, by a mass of ice, was a parcel containing a new piece of linen; while a watch, in the coat-pocket of the dead man, with broken glass, but not otherwise damaged, showed the hour of noon. Two elderly peasants at once recognized the features of those of the pilgrim of Passy mysteriously lost nineteen years ago. Embalmed in ice, decay had not yet touched his flesh, and he had lain undisturbed in his crystal coffin while a generation of men passed away over his head. The pilgrim, dead nineteen years, was carried to his former home, and left at the cottage of the young widow of Passy—now young no more, but an elderly gray-haired woman. The son who had never before seen his father, made him a wooden coffin, and, to honor his memory, kept the body lying in state for twenty-four hours.

An Arctic Region at Home.—To ascend a lofty Highland hill is equivalent to undertaking a summer voyage to the Arctic regions. The leading phenomena of the Polar world are presented to us on a small scale within the circumscribed area of the mountain summit. The same specific rocks along which Parry and Ross coasted in the unknown seas of the north, here crop above the surface, and yield by their disintegration the same kind of vegetation. The Alpine hare is common to both; and the ptarmigan, which penetrates in large flocks as far as Melville Island, is often seen flying round the grey rocks of the higher Grampians, and exhibiting its singular changes of plumage, from a mottled brown in summer to pure white in winter, so rapidly as to be perceptible from day to day. Although none of the Scotch mountains reach the line of perpetual snow, yet large snowy masses, smoothed and hardened by pressure into the consistence of glacier ice, not unfrequently lie in shady hollows all the year round, and remind one of the frozen hills of Greenland and Spitsbergen. Sweltering with midsummer heat in the low confined valleys, we are here revived and invigorated with the chill breezes of the Pole. We have thus in our country, and within short and easy reach of our busiest towns, specimens and exact counterparts of those terrible Arctic fastnesses, to explore which every campaign has been made at the cost of endurence beyond belief—often at the sacrifice of the most noble and valuable lives.—*Macmillan's Magazine.*

An Exhumed City.—A most singular discovery has been made on the French coast, near the mouth of the Garonne. A town has been discovered buried in the sand, and a church has already been extracted from it. Its original plan shows it to have been built near the close of the Roman Empire, but changes made in it had given it the appearance of an edifice of mixed style, in which Gothic architecture has usurped the place of the Roman. The original paintings, its admirable sculptured choir and Roman capitals, are adorned with profuse ornaments, which are attacting a number of visitors. This temple is all that remains of those cities described by Pliny and Strabo; the Gulf of Gascony abounds in ruins of those ancient cities. It has been 1,500 years since Novigamus, the old capital of Medoc, which was a very celebrated city when the Romans were masters of Gaul, was buried under the ocean; of all that tract of territory the Roche du Cordonon alone is visible; the remains of Roman roads, the site of Jupiter's Temple, the vestiges of the Spanish Moors, and the roads to Eleanor du Guyenne have been rescued from the sands in the neighborhood of the long-buried city of Soulac. Nowhere has the erosion of the ocean been greater than on the coast of Gascony.

A Verbal Whimsie.—An English poet gives us the following poem, containing only *one vowel:*

No monk too good to rob, or cog, or plot,
No fool so gross to bolt Scotch collops hot.
From Donjon tops no Oronooko rolls.
Logwood, not Lotos, floods Oporto's bowls.
Troops of old tosspots oft to sot consort.
Box tops our schoolboys, too, do flog for sport.
No cool monsoons blow oft on Oxford dons,
Orthodox jog-trot, book-worm Solomons!
Bold Ostragoths of ghosts no horror show.
On London shop-fronts no hop blossoms grow.
To crocks of gold no dodo looks for food.
On soft cloth footstools no old fox doth brood.
Long storm-tost sloops forlorn do work to port.
Rooks do not roost on spoons, nor woodcocks snort.
Nor dog on snow-drop or on coltsfoot rolls,
Nor common frog concocts long protocols.

Whiskey and Newspapers.—A glass of whiskey is manufactured from perhaps a dozen grains of corn, the value of which is too small to be estimated. A pint of this mixture sells for one shilling, and, if a good brand, is considered well worth the money. It is drank in a minute or two, it fires the brain, sharpens the appetite, deranges and weakens the physical system. On the same sideboard upon which this delicious beverage is served lies a newspaper. It is covered with half a million of types—it brings intelligence from the four quarters of the globe. The newspaper costs less than the glass of grog—the juice of a few grains of corn; but it is no less strange than true, that there is a large portion of the community who think corn juice cheap and the newspaper dear!

Wages in New Zealand.—Talking of wages, a good story was told me the other day of "a new chum," a single man, who came to be hired. His agricultural and pastoral experience was *nil*, and his wages at home about 7*s.* a week; but he was a "hand," and "would work for the gemman if his place worn't too far up country." "What wages?" "Why, now, measter, I'll be asking £150 per 'nnem, and I be're going to marry zoon, and my missus 'ull want rations, and sharn't let ear work." "Oh," said the master, "stop a bit; I think I'll marry, and you shall take the station and give me £150 a year, and my wife shan't work, that will suit me best." And so man and master parted, no more being said, an example I shall surely do well to follow.—*Miss Rye in The "Times."*

A gentleman was once arguing with a Scotch lady, when at length he stopped. "I tell you what, ma'am," said he, "I'll not argue with you any longer; you're not open to conviction." "Not open to conviction, sir!" was the indignant reply: "I scorn the imputation, sir. I am open to conviction. But," she added, after a moment's pause, "show me the man that can convince me."

The Pleasures of Hope.—If we have all suffered a great deal of pain, through the anticipation of evils which never came, we have all probably enjoyed a great deal of pleasure, through the anticipation of pleas